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Harry Truman Is Dead at 88

By B. Drummond Ayres Jr.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 26 (NYT).—Harry S. Truman, the 33rd President of the United States, died today. He was 88 years old.

Mr. Truman, an outspoken and decisive Missouri Democrat who served in the White House from 1945 to 1953, died in Research Hospital and Medical Center here at 7:50 a.m. (1950 GMT).

He had been a patient there for 22 days, stubbornly struggling against lung congestion, heart irregularity, kidney blockages, failure of his digestive system and other encroachments of old age.

A hospital spokesman said death resulted from the "com-

plexity of organic failures causing collapse of the cardiovascular system." The former President had been in a coma for three days.

Funeral services will be held Thursday in Independence, about 10 miles east of here. Independence is the site of the former President's home and of the Harry S. Truman Memorial Library, which houses the papers and mementos he accumulated during 18 years in Washington as senator, Vice-President and President.

Pomp Curtailed

[In accordance with Mr. Truman's wishes, the rites will be without the pomp usually involved in statesmen's funerals, the Associated Press reported. It said that a library spokesman announced that Mr. Truman will lie in state for 24 hours, beginning at 11 a.m. (1700 GMT) tomorrow in the rotunda of the library. Burial will be at 3 p.m. Thursday at a spot on the library grounds visible from the window of his office.

[The auditorium in the Truman library, where the funeral

services will be conducted, holds only 200 persons, and attendance will be by invitation only, the AP reported.]

Most foreign dignitaries, it said, are expected to go to a memorial service in Washington's National Cathedral rather than to Independence.

The New York and American Stock Exchanges will be closed Thursday for the Truman funeral. Most of the other domestic financial and commodity markets also will observe the national day of mourning proclaimed by President Nixon.

At the time of Mr. Truman's death, his wife, Bees, 87, and his daughter, Margaret (Mrs. Clinton Daniel), were at the Truman home in Independence. Mrs. Daniel, the Truman's only child, is the author of "Harry S. Truman," a recently published biography. She had visited the hospital briefly last night.

Mr. Truman's sister, Mary Jane Truman, 83, of nearby Grandview, was close at hand when he died. She has been a patient at Research Hospital since suffering injuries in a fall several weeks ago.

Eight Hospitalizations

[The AP reported that the former Bess Wallace, whom Mr. Truman married on June 28, 1919, was informed by telephone of her husband's death. A family spokesman said she received the information "with the same fortitude and calmness with which she has faced all of this Truman family unhappiness.]

Mr. Truman's terminal illness was the eighth to send him to Research Hospital in his post-Washington days. The other hospitalizations were for four cases of intestinal infection, a broken rib, a hernia and appendicitis.

The final illness began in late November as a case of minor lung congestion. Doctors initially treated Mr. Truman at home.

But they ordered him hospitalized on Dec. 5.

The room in which the former



Harry S. Truman (1884-1972)

President died has two red-and-green Christmas bells in the window. The room cost \$89 a day, and the fee was paid for by

private medical insurance and Medicare.

Long an advocate of federal health plans, Mr. Truman held Medicare card No. 1. Medicare's enactment under President Lyndon B. Johnson was a final political victory for Harry S. Truman.

Bodies Being Buried or Burned

Leveling of Managua Ruins Begins

From Wire Dispatches
MANAGUA, Nicaragua, Dec. 26 (AP).—Workers burned bodies and dug mass graves today for the victims of the worst earthquake in Nicaragua history.

The latest official estimate was that from 3,000 to 6,000 persons died and 20,000 others were badly injured. Managua had a population of 300,000 when the quake struck four days ago.

In Tegucigalpa, the capital of neighboring Honduras, the Central American News Service said a new earthquake struck Managua today. It quoted an amateur radio operator in Managua as reporting that the new earthquake had an intensity of 6 on the Richter scale.

He gave no further details and there were no reports in Managua of further tremors.

Some Remains
Most of Managua has been evacuated, but a few thousand homeless remain. Looting spread and the homeless are destitute looked through the rubble for food.

"We turn into animals when we get so hungry," a man in tattered clothes said. "We'll do almost anything to get something to eat."

A rescue worker said he saw a looter shot and killed by a National Guardsman. Survivors who owned firearms carried them to protect the property they were able to salvage.

Gen. Anastasio Somoza, a former president and the major political force in Nicaragua, said the stricken nation had plenty of medical supplies, but there was an urgent need for food.

Demolition Started
Demolition crews began tearing down ruined homes and a spokesman for the fire department said a 320-square-block area had been designated "contaminated" and would be leveled to entomb those who died in the earthquake.

Clouds of dust and smoke hung over Managua and small fires still burned in parts of the city. Fire Department Lt. Miguel Gonzalez said some of the fires apparently were set by looters to distract attention.

Mr. Gonzalez said an area of about 40 blocks by eight blocks would be razed because the thousands of dead buried beneath the rubble pose a threat to the living. "We are going to have to pull

line over everything and burn it and dynamite it," he said. Authorities fear an epidemic if the bodies are not disposed of soon.

At a rescue committee meeting last night, it was indicated that authorities would try to evacuate everyone from the city except for a work force of about 10,000.

There was no evidence yet of force being used to make people leave Managua. The government has ordered a curfew after martial law had been declared Saturday.

The U.S. Army began setting up a tent city to handle many of the thousands of homeless. The tent city includes medical facilities, field kitchens and other survival necessities.

Electricity was restored in some fringe areas of the capital but there was still no potable water supply other than that which was being flown in.

Col. Luis Bravo of the U.S. Army's 21st Field Evacuation team said that he feels the emergency units will have to stay in Managua at least two weeks until medical facilities can be restored.

All the city's hospitals were destroyed or badly damaged by the quake.

An international relief effort was under way.

From MacDill Air Force Base, Fla., U.S. Air Force cargo planes carried relief supplies to Nicaragua.

Other U.S. military planes, carrying water purification units, plasma, anti-tetanus serum, tents, stretchers, cots and water trailers, left Howard Air Force Base in the Panama Canal Zone.

The French Defense Ministry sent an emergency medical unit of doctors, a surgical ward and 50 hospital beds. The German

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Dayan Favors New Settlement

Plan for Sinai City Splits Israeli Cabinet

By Terence Smith

TEL AVIV, Dec. 26 (NYT).—A proposal by Defense Minister Moshe Dayan to build a new Israeli city of up to 250,000 persons on the rolling sand dunes of northeastern Sinai has aroused a controversy here and divided the cabinet.

Acting as the minister responsible for the occupied Arab territories, Mr. Dayan ordered a team of architects and city planners to draw up a comprehensive master plan for a new town in the former Egyptian territory immediately southwest of the Gaza Strip.

The 10-month study was completed in September. Although it has not yet been formally submitted to the government for approval, Finance Minister Pinhas Sapir already has denounced it as the sort of "creeping annexationism" he believes will lessen the chance of reaching a negotiated peace with the Arab states.

He also argued that such an ambitious project would overtax Israel's limited economic resources. The controversy reveals the thinking of Israeli leaders on the future border with Egypt.

A majority of the ministers seem to agree with Mr. Dayan that the final border should be a line running from Sharm el Sheikh to a point on the Mediterranean just east of El Arish. Such a line, they argue, would be adequate for Israel's security while returning more than two-thirds of the occupied Sinai peninsula to Egypt.

3 Suffer Minor Wounds

2 Shootings Fail to Dim Peace Hopes in Ulster

BELFAST, Dec. 26 (AP).—Three civilians were wounded today in two minor shootings that shattered an uneasy Christmas calm in Northern Ireland. Authorities believed that both incidents were isolated and that the Irish Republican Army was holding up full-scale operations well beyond the limit set for its self-imposed truce.

Cautious hopes for peace in the troubled province rose as the truce, originally set for three days, continued. It had been due to end at midnight last night.

The calm weekend was one of the longest periods of relative peace that the province has known in three years of turmoil.

Security officials said none of their forces were involved in either of the two shootings. In the first,

a man was slightly injured before dawn in Portadown, 25 miles southwest of Belfast, by the ricochet of a bullet fired from a passing car.

Then, just before midnight, a car dashed down Crumlin Road, in a Protestant district of Belfast. Ten shots were fired from it as a group of men outside a bookmaker's shop, and two men received minor wounds.

17 Hours After Truce

The second shooting occurred 17 hours after the scheduled midnight end of the truce declared by the militant Provisional wing of the IRA, which is seeking to oust the British from Northern Ireland in order to unite the province with force with the republic to the south.

British officials, meanwhile, were carefully studying reports that the Provisionals were ready to discuss a political settlement of the province's future.

Observers here saw the continuing calm as a further sign that the Provisionals were ready to abandon bombs and bullets, at least temporarily, to test whether the British government is ready to negotiate.

Interview With O'Brady

The first sign that the Provisionals were ready for talks came late Saturday in an interview with Rory O'Brady, president of the Provisional Sinn Féin, the IRA's political branch, which was published by the Sunday Times in London.

Mr. O'Brady was quoted as saying that his organization was prepared to start negotiations, but the conditions he outlined would be difficult for any British government to accept. In addition, William Whitelaw, British administrator for the province, vowed last July that he would never communicate with IRA leaders again. A previous truce had ended with Belfast's "Black Friday," when 13 persons died.

The Sunday Times indicated that Mr. O'Brady's peace feeler was not isolated and quoted Seamus Twomey as backing it completely. Mr. Twomey is commander of the Provisionals in the Belfast area and one of the men most wanted by British security authorities.

Pause in South Also Ends

Bombing Is Resumed Over Hanoi, Haiphong

SAIGON, Dec. 26 (AP).—U.S. planes resumed bombing North Vietnam today, ending a 36-hour Christmas pause in the war's heaviest raids. The U.S. command also said that a 24-hour bombing pause in South Vietnam had ended.

North Vietnam said that eight B-52s and an F-4 fighter-bomber were shot down after the raids were resumed. A broadcast from Hanoi said "many aggressor pilots" had been captured. There was no comment from the U.S. command.

Spokesmen also refused to say why the bombing pause over the North had lasted longer than that in the South. Other U.S. officials indicated that the suspension in the North had been extended hour by hour while President Nixon awaited some indication from Hanoi that it was willing to resume peace talks in Paris.

Different Reasons

Maj. Jere K. Forbus, a spokesman for the U.S. command, refused to link the raids on the North with the peace negotiations, although he said that there had been different reasons behind the suspension in the North and the South. Maj. Forbus said U.S. military authorities had known from the start how long the pause over the North would last.

The raids resumed under the same secrecy that surrounded the escalation of bombing to the Hanoi-Haiphong area on Dec. 13. Maj. Forbus refused to comment on the number of raids or their targets, but did say that there were no new restrictions for U.S. pilots.

Other officials said that the Hanoi-Haiphong area was again being hit. Asked if the planes were hitting civilian targets, a spokesman said, "We are targeting only military targets in North Vietnam," but that some bombs might hit civilian areas near the military targets.

He also noted reports from Hanoi of U.S. air raids during the 36-hour halt and said that if reconnaissance planes had been fired on by the North Vietnamese, scout fighter-bombers would then attack the gun positions.

Pentagon Comments

In Washington, a Defense Department spokesman, Jerry W. Friedheim, said that the bombing "continued for several weeks" it could very well destroy the military targets around Hanoi. He refused to say what these were or how many there were except that there were "a number" of them.

"We're striking throughout North Vietnam, including the Hanoi-Haiphong area," Mr. Friedheim said. "All of our aircraft are taking part in these strikes." He refused to assess the bombing damage or disclose the number of missions flown, except to say, "There has been a significant effort and there has been considerable effect."

President Nixon, in Key Biscayne, Fla., remained silent on the resumption of the air war. Although his aides declined to discuss steps to resume the cease-fire negotiations, broken off Dec. 13, some officials were saying that they might resume "sooner than we expected."

A U.S. persisted in ground fighting in South Vietnam. The South Vietnamese command reported six enemy attacks—about average over recent weeks—during the enemy's announced Christmas truce period.

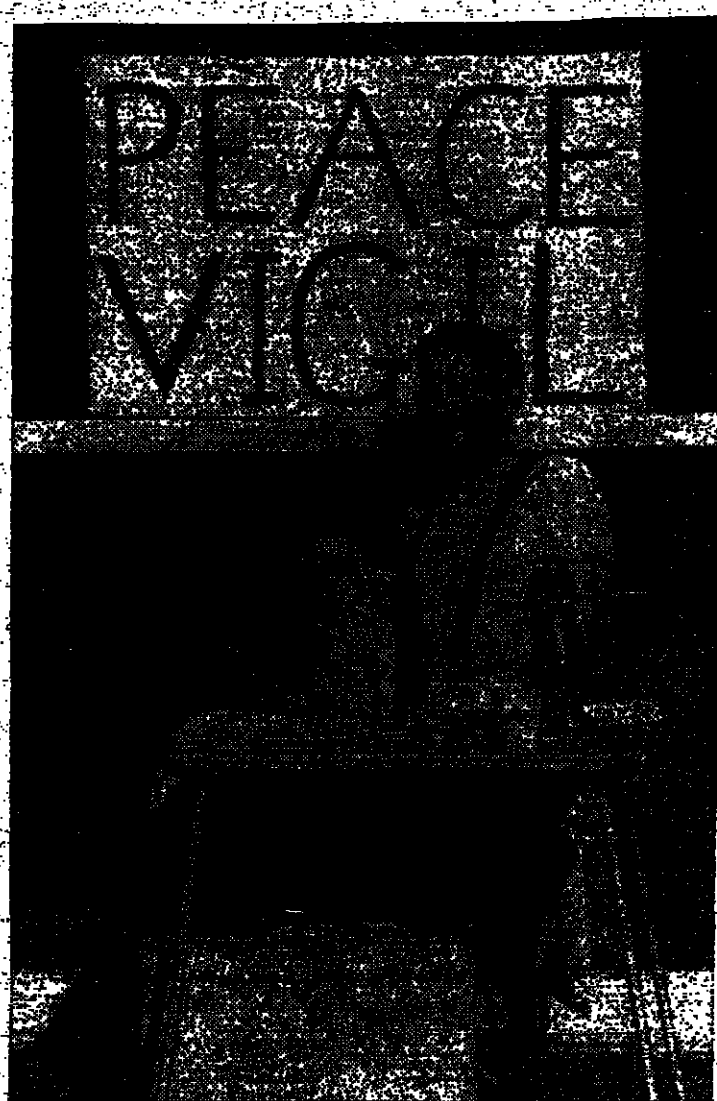
Air Attack in Cambodia
PHNOM PENH, Dec. 26 (Reuters).—Cambodian fighter-bombers attacked North Vietnamese

positions around Kampung Thom today to disrupt their effort to lift the 30-day siege of the northern town, the military command here reported.

The command said its ground forces had also been active, but

did not disclose the extent of fighting or casualties.

Kampung Thom, which has a civilian population of about 10,000, is the first provincial capital to come under heavy attack.



A PEACE VIGIL—John McIntire, 52, in front of the San Francisco Federal Building on Christmas Day. He has been there almost continuously since early November with his lighted lamp, and says he can't think of "anything more important to do than staying here until the bombing and the killing in Vietnam stop."

Put at 2 to 3 Percent

Pentagon Says Rate of Loss Of Planes in North Not Rising

WASHINGTON, Dec. 26 (AP).—A Pentagon spokesman said today that the United States has been losing planes in the new round of bombing of North Vietnam at a rate of 2 to 3 percent of the attacking force.

Jerry W. Friedheim said at a briefing that the loss rate, principally to surface-to-air missiles, is "not materially different" from the degree of losses during the early stages of the resumed bombing of the North last spring.

The main difference between the bombing then and now, he indicated, is that the United States has been sending B-52 bombers over Hanoi on an almost daily basis.

The United States has reported losing 13 planes in the new round of raids, 11 of them, eight jet B-52s, which formerly were kept out of the heavily defended Hanoi-Haiphong area, except on

one occasion.

Mr. Friedheim said more than 550 B-52s were fired at B-52s in

the last week, when the U.S. Air Force was sending about 100 B-52s a day against military targets in the Hanoi area.

The Pentagon spokesman declined to say whether the B-52s are taking part in resumed raids against the Hanoi-Haiphong area since a 36-hour Christmas truce. He also declined to be specific about other types of aircraft involved in the raids.

Asked where the North Vietnamese were getting the large number of surface-to-air missiles, since the naval mine blockade of North Vietnam's ports still is in force, Mr. Friedheim said: "We do not know where they are getting them." He said the U.S. has reported losing 13 planes in the new round of raids, 11 of them, eight jet B-52s, which formerly were kept out of the heavily defended Hanoi-Haiphong area, except on one occasion.

When reporters noted that North Vietnam had rejected its allegation that the U.S. bombs struck an American prisoner camp in Hanoi, Mr. Friedheim said, "I can neither confirm nor deny that."

Hanoi Again Connects Talks To Cutback in U.S. Bombing

PARIS, Dec. 26 (NYT).—North Vietnam, denouncing the resumption of U.S. bombing of Hanoi, decided today that it was still ready to resume negotiations if the attacks were halted.

Nguyen Thien Le, a spokesman for Hanoi's delegation to the peace talks, said in a statement that if the United States really wanted to settle the war by serious negotiations, "it must cease immediately the acts of escalation of the war against the Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

He said the North Vietnamese would not return to the situation existing before Dec. 13.

It was on that date that the Nixon administration announced the resumption of air attacks above the 20th Parallel. The statement by the North Vietnamese today made it apparent that

attacks on Hanoi, Haiphong and other heavily populated areas were an obstacle to further talks but those connected below the 20th Parallel were not.

The statement, the position of Xuan Thuy, North Vietnam's chief delegate to the peace talks, who said Sunday that negotiations on a cease-fire could not be held while the bombing continued above the 20th Parallel.

Greensleeves See Mr. Binh
MOSCOW, Dec. 26 (UPI).—Soviet Minister Andrei A. Gromyko met today with Mr. Nguyen Thien Le, the Viet Cong's chief delegate to the Paris talks, "he said.

"Questions related to the struggle of the Vietnamese people on the military, political and diplomatic fronts were discussed," the press agency said.

Laos Peace Talks Bog Down Again

VIENTIANE, Laos, Dec. 26 (Reuters).—Peace talks between the Lao government and the pro-Communist Pathet Lao bogged down again today on procedural matters.

After today's 11th session of the talks, the Pathet Lao's chief negotiator, Brig. Gen. PHOU SI-THAN, accused the government of stalling the talks by refusing to settle procedural problems.

On Dec. 12, the Pathet Lao proposed an in-place cease-fire to be followed by the formation of a political coalition council that would be an advisory body to a "popular" interim government. The government has refused to agree to the formation of a new political government.

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Israel Reports Reorganization Of Its Anti-Aircraft Defenses

TEL AVIV, Dec. 26 (AP).—Israel has reorganized its air-defense network, including its anti-aircraft guns and missiles along the borders, and centralized its command under the air force, it was disclosed yesterday.

Air force personnel have replaced army artillerymen in the anti-aircraft batteries, Maj. Gen. Mordecai Hod, chief of the air force, revealed.

He declined to say when the change-over took place but said his crews are now responsible for the defense of both military and civilian installations.

Gen. Hod told Israeli newsmen that the air force had incorporated into its defense system weapons captured from Egypt in the 1967 war. He refused to identify the guns, but they are believed to be radar-guided, 37 and 57-mm cannons.

The backbone of Israel's ground-to-air defense has been the Hawk missile, which the Israelis began buying from the United States in 1965 at \$40,000 each.

The Hawks and other ground weapons reportedly have been responsible for 94 of the 153 downings of Arab aircraft claimed since the 1967 war, Gen. Hod said. He added that Israel is considering buying from Washington new, sophisticated defense systems for use against low-flying aircraft.

He did not elaborate. Syrian gunners today fired a number of shells at an Israeli Army unit patrolling the cease-fire line in the Israeli-occupied Golan Heights, a military spokesman said. "There were no casualties," he added.

It was the second incident reported since major fighting on the frontier five weeks ago. The previous shelling occurred 11 days ago.

In the occupied Gaza Strip, Israeli troops today shot and killed an Arab fleeing in a car, a command communiqué said. It reported that a patrol south of Gaza City first fired warning shots when the car's driver ignored an order to halt. As he accelerated, the command said, "the patrol aimed its fire and one of the car's passengers was killed."

Also in the Gaza Strip, an Arab, Salama Ali Abu Ghazal, was sentenced today to 20 years' imprisonment for sabotaging a railroad line near the town of Nazareth. Israeli Arab was sentenced to 6 1/2 years for spying for Lebanon. The man, Salama Abu Rahim, was convicted of giving the Lebanese maps of Israel, plans of army and air force bases and information about Israeli Arabs working for the military. Both men also were convicted of belonging to Arab guerrilla groups.

The consensus on the strategic significance of the area was described by Minister Without Portfolio Israel Galili in a speech before the bar association here. "The economic considerations involved are still being debated," he said, "but it is an accepted fact that the Rafah approaches are essential for the future security of Israel."

As a more economical alternative to the Dayan plan, Mr. Galili and a number of other ministers are said to favor the establishment of a modern regional center on the site that would include facilities for the Israeli agricultural settlements in the area. One such settlement, Dikla, is already established and two others are planned.

The Dayan proposal is for the development of a modern planned city. From an initial 5,000 settlers, it would be expected to grow to 250,000 within 25 years. Only 100 Aviv, with an estimated 390,000 persons, and Jerusalem, with 285,000, are larger.

The economy of the city, tentatively named Yamit, Hebrew for "seaside," would be based on tourism, services and science-based industries. It is envisaged as a much-needed third Mediterranean port and the site of the country's second international airport.

Mr. Dayan has taken his argument for Yamit to the Israeli public, apparently in an effort to increase the pressure on his fellow ministers. He has mentioned the plan in nearly every public address recently.

Building Around Jerusalem
JERUSALEM, Dec. 26 (AP).—Israel, determined to hold onto the eastern half of Jerusalem, formerly ruled by Arabs, is ringing it with vast housing complexes from Bethlehem in the south, across the Judean desert to the east, and up to Bethel in the north.

The building drive, with a target of 20,000 apartment units by 1975, has drawn Arab condemnation and international criticism.

For the message is clear—that Israel intends to stay in the city, including the Arab half it captured in the 1967 Middle East war.

The majority of laborers, crane operators and bulldozer drivers are Arabs from Jordanian. Ten thousand pay working for three times the pay they earned under Jordanian rule.



North Vietnamese soldier (in white) entertaining crack anti-aircraft missile unit crew defending Hanoi on Christmas Eve. Unit is said to have had outstanding success in recent battles against U.S. aircraft. Flowers are from Defense Minister Vo Nguyen Giap. The picture and caption were released yesterday by North Vietnam.

Now Devoted to Crippled Children

War Is Over for Saigon's Killer Policeman

SAIGON, Dec. 26 (AP).—Maj. Gen. Nguyen Ngoc Loan, the former South Vietnamese police chief who shocked the world in a 1968 photograph that showed him shooting a Viet Cong prisoner at point-blank range, now spends his days visiting orphanages and children's hospitals to distribute candy and ice cream.

"Loan is a hopeless cripple himself," he identifies with crippled kids," said an American doctor who has seen Gen. Loan at a center where war victims and children with birth defects are fitted with braces and artificial limbs.

Gen. Loan arrives unexpectedly in a three-jeep convoy loaded with cases of soda and boxes of candy and ice cream.

Gen. Loan declines all interviews about his work with crippled children and refuses to have reporters or photographers accompany him on his hospital visits.

"If he sees a camera anywhere, he turns the jeep around and heads back to his house at Tan Son Nhut," an official in the Defense Ministry said. "Loan doesn't care a damn any more what the world thinks of him."

At one time he was the most powerful politician in South Vietnam outside the presidential palace. In addition to heading the national police, he was director of military security with the power to arrest and imprison people without a warrant.

Shot in an alley in urban fighting in mid-1968, Gen. Loan set an example for his men by moving forward alone, ahead of a tank down an alley of fishing shacks where Viet Cong snipers were firing on the Agriculture Ministry in Saigon.

There was a burst of fire and Gen. Loan never walked upright again. For the next several years, he underwent repeated surgery for his damaged spine and crippled legs, including two operations at Walter Reed Hospital in Washington.

Now reportedly moody and bitter, he has a title, an office and a make-work job in the Defense Ministry. Sources there say Gen. Loan's condition has worsened in recent months, that his legs have begun to atrophy.

The tough cop, they say, now lives only for those children on crutches and braces in hospitals all over Saigon.

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San Franciscans Getting Edgy About Jan. 4 Quake Forecast

SAN FRANCISCO, Dec. 26 (AP).—Last week it was all different. Then, most of those who live in this city that was once destroyed by an earthquake ignored the prediction. Those who did not ignore it chose to laugh at it. The few who took it seriously kept their concern mostly to themselves.

But now the jokes have disappeared, and some persons have begun quietly to take a second look at the prediction that an earthquake will destroy San Francisco at 9 a.m. on Jan. 4.

Saturday's earthquake in Managua, Nicaragua, jolted the thinking of San Franciscans. What adds to the worry is that Reuben Greenspan, the 67-year-old geologist who has forecast a quake here, is a man who has had some success in predicting earthquakes as far back as 1935 and as recently as 1971.

An earthquake as devastating as the one that leveled San Francisco in 1906 is almost universally expected. The only question is when. Seismologists say there is no accurate way to predict earthquakes. Mr. Greenspan disagrees.

His forecast has drawn a disloyal reaction from the scientific community. "That's nonsense," Prof. Bruce A. Bolt, director of the seismological station at the University of California at Berkeley, said, adding that "no one has been able to find a key to predicting the exact time when an earthquake of a given size will occur."

Prof. Bolt did say that crystal rocks along a 270-mile section of California are strained "like a watch spring" and that "one day they will snap, skidding the ground and everything on it a few feet forward."

The Greenspan method for predicting earthquakes involves plotting the positions of the sun, moon and stars in relation to the earth. He believes that the combined gravitational pull from these bodies occasionally concentrates on areas of the earth, causing earthquakes along already strained geological fault lines.

However, Prof. Bolt says that early dates are not connected with large earthquakes and that "the combined gravitational pull from the sun, moon and stars is negligible."

There seems to be little if any statistical correlation between these forces and earthquakes. At least, no correlation has been demonstrated between gravitational forces and particular earthquakes.

Dr. Robert Nason, a seismologist at the earthquake mechanism laboratory here, is another of those who scoff at the Greenspan prediction.

"He's predicted San Francisco three times before," Dr. Nason said. "He hasn't given up."

In the mid-1960s New York City newspapers carried articles about Mr. Greenspan's skill at predicting earthquakes.

At one point the Associated Press carried what it called a box score of Mr. Greenspan's predictions. It showed that on April 15 of 1955 he told his wife that there would be a quake in the Azores. On April 22, a quake did hit in San Miguel Island, in the Azores, causing widespread damage and leaving thousands homeless.

The box score said that on May 1 he predicted tremors for Iran and Turkey. On May 17 there were reports from Iran of a quake that left 1,000 dead. The box score carried several other reports of quakes predicted by Mr. Greenspan, including one in India that reportedly left 56,000 dead.

U.S., World Leaders Laud Truman

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 (AP).—Harry S. Truman was eulogized today as a common man who rose to uncommon greatness, a man who did not seek power but who used it wisely when it was thrust upon him.

President Nixon and former President Lyndon B. Johnson led the nation in "bidding the 33d President."

Mr. Nixon designated Thursday, the day of Mr. Truman's funeral, a national day of mourning and ordered flags on all U.S. buildings and installations flown at half-staff for the next 30 days.

The President said Mr. Truman's "far-sighted leadership in the postwar era has helped... to preserve peace and freedom in this world."

"He was a fighter who was at his best when the going was toughest... Friends and opponents alike were unanimous in respecting him for his enormous courage and for the spirit that saw him through, whatever the odds... They recognized and admired him—in a description he himself might have appreciated the most—as a man with guts."

"In launching the Marshall Plan, he began the most generous act of international rebuilding ever undertaken. With his characteristic decisive action in Korea, he made possible the defense of peace and freedom in Asia."

The White House announced that Mr. and Mrs. Nixon will fly to Independence, Mo., tomorrow to lay a wreath at the Harry S. Truman Memorial Library, where the body of the late President will be lying in state.

Mr. Johnson, now the nation's only living ex-President, said: "Because he championed the cause of the people, he had his critics and detractors. But history is just, and Harry Truman will live on in the memory of free people as one of the greatest men to lead freedom's cause."

Former House Speaker John W. McCormack said: "Truman was a great leader—forthright, honest and courageous. The sign on his desk 'The buck stops here,' was no idle boast. But in an office of great power he never lost the humility that endeared him to millions as simply the man from Missouri."

Former House Speaker John W. McCormack said: "Truman was a great leader—forthright, honest and courageous. The sign on his desk 'The buck stops here,' was no idle boast. But in an office of great power he never lost the humility that endeared him to millions as simply the man from Missouri."

Secretary of State William P. Rogers said Mr. Truman's "decisions determined America's posture toward the world. The monuments to his wisdom and humanity survive in the restored vitality of nations demolished by war, in a great peacetime alliance of wartime allies and in the hearts of once-threatened, but still-free peoples."

George Meany, president of the AFL-CIO, called Mr. Truman "a great liberal, a great progressive, a truly courageous man. Above all he was a great American."

World leaders' tributes included these:

From Harry Truman
KANSAS CITY, Mo., Dec. 26.—Harry S. Truman had an earthy and witty way of speech. Here are some examples of it:

On himself: "Missouri has produced three notorious characters—Mark Twain, Jesse James and me. I'm a meat and potatoes man, not overly fond of pheasant under glass."

On the presidency: "The honor isn't for the man. He is just a symbol of the office, the highest in the world. I did what had to be done. I don't care a hoot what history says about me. I know what I have done and that is enough."

On ordering the atomic bomb dropped on Japan: "It was a military decision that saved thousands of American lives. No other course was conceivable."

On politicians: "A politician is a public relations man who knows how to get along with people. If you can't stand the heat you should get out of the kitchen. The great statesmen were all politicians or they would never have been statesmen. They became statesmen after they were in their graves."

On his father: "My father was not a failure. After all, he was the father of a President of the United States."

On campaigning: "I have never deliberately given anybody hell. I just tell the truth on the opposition—and they think it's hell."

On enemies: "There is no conversation so sweet as that of former political enemies. The way I look at it, I have been blessed in both enemies and friends."

On war: "It all seems to have been in vain. Memories are short and appetites for power and glory are insatiable. Old tyrants depart. New ones take their place. Old allies become the foe. The recent enemy becomes the friend. It is all very baffling and trying. (but) we cannot lose hope, we cannot despair. For it is so obvious that if we do not abolish war on this earth, then surely, one day, war will abolish us from the earth."

On McCarthyism: "The meaning of the word is the corruption of truth, the abandonment of our historical devotion to fair play. It is the abandonment of 'due process' of law. It is the use of the big lie and the unfounded accusation against any citizen in the name of Americanism and security. My friends, this is not a partisan matter. This horrible cancer is eating at the vitals of America and it can destroy the great edifice of freedom."

On criticism: "Whenever the press quits abusing me, I know I'm in the wrong pew."

On his achievements: "Some of the Presidents were great and some of them weren't. I can say that, because I wasn't one of the great Presidents, but I had a good time trying to be one. I can tell you that."

Principled Man Who Loved Peace, Politics... and Poker

The author of this article is a retired Associated Press writer who covered Harry S. Truman throughout the Truman years in the White House.

By Tony Vaccaro

WASHINGTON, Dec. 13 (AP).—President, politician and poker player. That was Harry S. Truman.

The man from Missouri loved to play poker more than anyone I ever met. And he liked to play "wild" games—games where the deuces or one-eyed jacks were wild, high-low games, seven-card and three-card.

Truman usually played for the sheer joy he got out of the game. He got a bigger kick out of bluffing someone out of a pot than he did from winning up the winner.

The President also could be sympathetic to a loser, however. Once, when the presidential party was at Key West, Fla., a young priest joined the reporters one night in the press room.

The chaplain lost more than \$50 because of his unfamiliarity with the "wild" games that we had learned from the President.

The next afternoon, at a reception, I introduced the priest to the President and told Truman what had happened.

"I'll tell you what, Father," the President said. "You get back in that game tonight. I'll match everything you win, and you can use the money to buy something you need for your altar."

A little bit more experienced, the priest won about \$35 the second night. I relayed the word to Truman.

A Promise Fulfilled
The next Sunday, the priest stood outside the Navy chapel after conducting early mass. He greeted Truman as the President arrived for the later Protestant service.

"Here's that autograph I promised you," the President said. The priest opened the envelope, then said, "I'm inside was \$35 in cash, new bills."

For all his plain speaking, cuss words and "give 'em hell" reputation, Truman was a religious man.

"I pray God I can measure up to the task," he told me as we rode together in his newly provided White House limousine on April 13, 1945, the day after Franklin D. Roosevelt's death at Warm Springs.

Later that day, he told reporters: "I don't know if you newspapermen ever pray, but if you do, please pray for me now."

Truman was a friendly man, calling thousands of people by their first names. He had a quick temper but never held a grudge.

When music critic Paul Hume of the Washington Post found fault with the voice of Margaret Truman, the President's daughter, he sent the critic a note saying that if he ever met, "you'll need a new nose and plenty of beefsteak and perhaps a supporter below."

After Truman left office, Mr. Hume wrote a column praising the President's support of the Washington National Symphony Orchestra. Truman wrote another letter to the critic. This one was warm and friendly.

Only Political Enmity
Long after he retired to his home in Independence, Mo., Truman said: "I've never had any personal enemies—only political enemies."

He couldn't understand why political opponents took offense when he attacked them. "Politics is the greatest game on earth," he said once. "In Missouri, we cracked the whip and thundered at each other and then went out and had supper together."

This philosophy was evident in his attitude toward the Democratic presidential candidates in 1956 and 1960.

In August, 1956, Truman went to the Democratic National Convention in Chicago to lead the unsuccessful fight for the nomination of Gov. W. Averell Harriman of New York for the presidency. But the convention chose Adlai Stevenson for the second time.

I was the only newsmen with Truman when he left Chicago to board a train for home. "The fight is over in the party," he

USIA Center Set Afire by Youths In Bangladesh

From Wire Dispatches
DACC, Dec. 26.—Students today set fire to the U.S. Information Center at Rajshahi, 90 miles northwest of here. There was considerable damage, according to reports reaching here.

Earlier, students meeting at Rajshahi University strongly condemned the American bombing of Vietnam and demanded immediate withdrawal of American troops from Indochina.

Other anti-U.S. incidents reported:

● In Geneva, police last night dispersed demonstrators who stood outside two of the city's churches to condemn the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

The protesters were at the Protestant cathedral in the old quarter of the city and near the main Roman Catholic church.

● In Vienna, police continued stringent security measures today to protect the American Embassy here after an anonymous caller last night threatened to set off a bomb in what he said was retaliation against the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

Rep. McCloskey Plans Hanoi Trip
WASHINGTON, Dec. 26 (WP).—Rep. Paul McCloskey, R-Calif., has advised President Nixon that he intends to go to Hanoi to survey damage from U.S. bombing raids and to report to Congress when it convenes on Jan. 3.

The third-term congressman, who ran as an anti-war alternative to Mr. Nixon in the New Hampshire Republican primary in March, told the President in a letter dated Dec. 22 that he felt "sadness and regret that he has chosen to resume the bombing of North Vietnam."

The majority of laborers, crane operators and bulldozer drivers are Arabs from Jordanian. Ten thousand pay working for three times the pay they earned under Jordanian rule.

Leveling of Managua Starts; Bodies Are Burned or Buried
(Continued from Page 1)
Red Cross sent 1,000 tents and 10,000 blankets.

The Agency for International Development reported today in Washington that U.S. aid will total \$3 million.

The Catholic Relief Society, acting on AID's behalf in Nicaragua, has been authorized to provide 90,000 pounds of rolled oats and 140,000 pounds of flour to the stricken people.

Ships containing rolled oats and other grains totaling more than 550,000 pounds have been diverted to Nicaragua. U.S. demolition experts are also on the scene to aid in clearing the wrecked buildings. The American Red Cross has authorized an initial allocation of \$25,000 to its Nicaraguan counterpart, and Red Cross officials said more will be provided.

The Organization of American States said it would send \$250,000 in food, clothing, medicine and temporary shelters to victims of the disaster.

So far, 33 National Red Cross units have given or pledged aid. Australia, Italy and Israel are among the nations to contribute money, personnel and equipment. Diplomatic sources said Nicaragua was considering moving its capital to Leon, at least temporarily. Leon is 55 miles from Managua. Gen. Somoza said a decision on whether to rebuild Managua on the same site would be based on geological studies. About 1,000 persons perished in the city in an earthquake in 1931.

Palme's Remarks Protested by U.S.
WASHINGTON, Dec. 26 (UPI).—The State Department said today that it has protested Swedish Premier Olof Palme's statements Saturday criticizing the U.S. bombing of North Vietnam.

A department spokesman said that Acting Secretary of State U. Alexis Johnson had called Swedish Ambassador Hubert de Besche to the department Saturday to deliver the protest.

The spokesman said that Mr. Johnson strongly protested the premier's statements. According to news reports from Sweden, Mr. Palme said that the U.S. bombing of Hanoi was an outrage to be listed with Nazi massacres of World War II.

WEATHER

ALABAMA	10	Overcast
ALASKA	10	Cloudy
ARIZONA	10	Cloudy
ARKANSAS	10	Cloudy
CALIFORNIA	10	Cloudy
COLORADO	10	Cloudy
CONNECTICUT	10	Cloudy
DELAWARE	10	Cloudy
FLORIDA	10	Cloudy
GEORGIA	10	Cloudy
ILLINOIS	10	Cloudy
INDIANA	10	Cloudy
IOWA	10	Cloudy
KANSAS	10	Cloudy
KENTUCKY	10	Cloudy
LACHINA	10	Cloudy
LOUISIANA	10	Cloudy
MAINE	10	Cloudy
MARYLAND	10	Cloudy
MASSACHUSETTS	10	Cloudy
MICHIGAN	10	Cloudy
MINNESOTA	10	Cloudy
MISSISSIPPI	10	Cloudy
MISSOURI	10	Cloudy
MONTANA	10	Cloudy
MONTREAL	10	Cloudy
MOSCOW	10	Cloudy
MUNICH	10	Cloudy
NEW YORK	10	Cloudy
NICE	10	Cloudy
OSLO	10	Cloudy
PARIS	10	Cloudy
PRAGUE	10	Cloudy
ROME	10	Cloudy
SOVIET UNION	10	Cloudy
ST. LOUIS	10	Cloudy
TEL AVIV	10	Cloudy
TOKYO	10	Cloudy
TUNIS	10	Cloudy
VIENNA	10	Cloudy
WARSAW	10	Cloudy
WASHINGTON	10	Cloudy
WILMINGTON	10	Cloudy
ZURICH	10	Cloudy

(Continued from Page 1)
at 1700 GMT others at 1200 GMT.)

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Cosmos-540 Launched
MOSCOW, Dec. 26 (UPI).—The Soviet Union today launched Cosmos-540, another in its series of unmanned, scientific satellites, Tass news agency said.

Potsdam, A-Bombs, UN, Marshall Plan, NATO, and Korea

By Robert C. Jensen

WASHINGTON (UPI)—Harry S. Truman, the indomitable man from Missouri, was suddenly thrust into the presidency and called on to make some of the most momentous decisions in U.S. history.

Historians will remember Harry Truman as the world leader who played a major role in shaping events in the crisis-ridden postwar period during the early days of the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States.

But to millions of Americans he also will be remembered as "good old Harry," the scrappy, outspoken, often salty, "give 'em hell" campaigner who scored the greatest political upset in U.S. history when he defeated Republican Thomas E. Dewey in 1948.

This upset, as incredible as it seemed at the time, was just one part of the extraordinary record of Harry Truman's years in the White House.

After he left office, Mr. Truman was asked how he thought history would deal with him and he replied in characteristic fashion:

"I don't give a damn what history thinks of me. I know what I did, and that's enough for me."

His Creed
This was the essence of the Truman creed—do what you think is right and never mind the critics. It was the creed of a self-confident man who, according to his close friend, the late Gen. George Catlett Marshall, had the curious blend of humility and boldness.

And Harry Truman was bold enough to make unflinching decisions that would terrify even the most courageous of men. During his presidency he made the decisions to:

● Drop nuclear bombs on two Japanese cities to hasten the end of World War II.

● Give the go-ahead for development of the hydrogen bomb after Russia had developed her own atomic capability.

● Continue the policy of having the United States take the lead in creation of the United Nations during the closing days of World War II.

● Establish the multi-billion dollar postwar program for European recovery, known as the Marshall Plan, and prevent the economic collapse that probably would have led to Communist domination of Western Europe.

● Send U.S. troops to push back the invasion of South Korea by Communist North Korea.

● Enunciate the Truman Doctrine to provide economic and military aid to Greece and Turkey to help those countries resist Communist moves being led by the Soviet Union.

● Operate a \$500 million airlift (with Britain) to supply food and other essentials to the people of West Berlin and break the 337-day Russian blockade that was designed to force the Western powers out of the city.

● Begin the Point Four program to give technical aid to underdeveloped countries.

● Form the North Atlantic Treaty Organization—the first military alliance between the United States and European nations.

● Fire Gen. Douglas MacArthur as the supreme commander in the Pacific for insubordination during the Korean war and reaffirm the historic American principle of civilian control over the military.

All of these decisions were controversial and Mr. Truman knew they would be. For example on April 10, 1951, the day he announced the firing of Gen. MacArthur, he wrote a friend:

"It will undoubtedly create a great furor, but under the circumstances I could do nothing else and still be President of the United States. Even the Joint Chiefs of Staff came to the conclusion that civilian control was at stake, but I didn't let it stay at stake very long."

Domestic Woes

From the home front, Mr. Truman's achievements appeared to suffer by comparison. He was in a constant struggle with Congress on domestic matters and many of his proposals were ignored or rejected.

Nevertheless, his administration was responsible for the unification of the armed forces, the first time since the Civil War that the armed forces came only after the most bitter fighting among the separate branches of the service.

The Truman administration also was responsible for the Employment Act of 1946, which for the first time committed the federal government to a policy of maintaining high employment and a strong economy. The act also created the President's Council of Economic Advisors (CEA), which in the recent years played a major role in shaping U.S. economic policies.

Mr. Truman lost his battles for legislation in the fields of labor, civil rights, social welfare and education.

Congress passed the Taft-Hartley Act, which placed tighter curbs on the powers of labor unions, over his veto.

Congress ignored his pleas for civil rights laws, medical care for the aged under social security, and federal aid to education. These measures had been passed by the administration of Lyndon B. Johnson and the overwhelmingly Democratic majorities in the Congress before they were enacted.

On the domestic scene, Mr. Truman was also rebuffed in his effort to end two costly strikes. In 1946 he urged Congress to



WHITE HOUSE LAWN, 1944—Candidates planning strategy for upcoming campaign.



POTSDAM, 1945—With Churchill and Stalin at the conference on postwar Europe.



WAKE ISLAND, 1950—Conferring with Gen. of the Army MacArthur on Far East.

draft striking railroad workers to end a nationwide rail walk-out. The House quickly granted his request. Republican Robert A. Taft led the opposition in the Senate and stopped the move.

In 1952, President Truman seized the steel industry in an attempt to avert a strike during the Korean war. He claimed inherent powers as President to do this to protect the public interest during a time of national emergency.

But the Supreme Court, in a 6-to-3 decision, ruled the seizure illegal. The steelworkers then went on strike for 55 days.

With Friends...

Mr. Truman was also plagued at home by friends and subordinates who let him down or embarrassed him. Although the President's honesty was never questioned, cries of outrage were raised about a White House secretary who was given a mink coat and the freezer that were accepted by Mr. Truman's military aide, Maj. Gen. Harry H. Vaughan.

The so-called scandals were all quite petty affairs. But when high-ranking Internal Revenue officials around the country were indicted during the last years of the Truman administration, the Republicans had a no legitimate campaign cry of "a top up the mess in Washington."

Criticism also was heaped on Harry Truman for his earthy manners and lack of bluntness. One celebrated incident was the letter he wrote to Paul Hume, the music critic of "The Washington Post" who had not fully appreciated the concert efforts of the President's daughter, Margaret.

Proud father Truman fired off an explosive letter to Mr. Hume in which he said, "I never met you, but if I do you'll need a new nose and plenty of beefsteak and perhaps a supporter below."

Hume has always considered the letter the "perfectly understandable reaction" of a father whose daughter had been criticized. Nine years after the incident the two men had a

warm visit in the Truman Library in Independence.

Mr. Hume wrote that Mr. Truman had done more for music than any President in history and noted that the President often slipped unnoticed into concerts in the city. At one concert, he followed the playing of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony with the musical score in his hand.

Another letter-writing incident caused a furor when he wrote to a congressman that the Marine Corps was the "Navy's police force" and had a "propaganda machine that is almost equal to Stalin's." Later the ex-Army artillery officer apologized for an unfortunate choice of language.

At the time these incidents were treated gravely by many Truman critics. With the passage of time they were looked upon by most as amusing events involving a very human President.

Reappraisals

The passage of time has also brought new and much more favorable interpretations of the Truman years in the White House.

About half the people living in the United States today had not been born when Harry Truman was called to the White House on April 12, 1945, and told that Franklin D. Roosevelt had died. Only those who lived through those dramatic months can fully appreciate grave problems that faced Mr. Truman.

On that day, Mr. Truman noted in his diary that Mrs. Roosevelt stepped forward and put her arm around him and said "The President is dead."

"I then asked them what I could do," Mr. Truman wrote, "and she said 'What can we do for you?'"

Suddenly this little-known "son of the middle border," a political figure with little experience in foreign relations and the affairs of state, was thrust into the shoes of a major world leader at one of the most critical junctures in history.

The war in Europe was rapidly being brought to an end and

the military, political and diplomatic decisions that would determine the fate of entire nations in Europe were still far from settled.

Nuclear physicists were working secretly on the development of the world's most powerful weapon.

Plans were being made for the invasion of Japan, including preparations to handle a million American casualties at hospital stations stretching in stages across the Pacific into the center of the United States.

This was the world faced by Harry Truman—a man who had been Vice-President only 83 days and who had known nothing about the work being done on the atomic bomb or the military, political and diplomatic complications involved in the great decisions facing President Roosevelt.

In fact, during his entire life, Harry Truman had only eight extended conversations with the man who had selected him to be his Vice-President and eventual successor.

When Harry Truman rode to the White House on the day after he took the oath, he said: "I pray to God I can measure up to the task."

Later that day when he saw a number of reporters he had known as a senator, he said: "I don't know if any of you fellows ever had a load of hay thrown over your head or a bull fall on you. But last night the whole weight of the moon and stars and all the planets fell on me. I feel a tremendous responsibility. Please pray for me, I mean that."

The world sympathized with the new President, although many persons had serious doubts that he was equipped to handle the awesome tasks he faced.

Harry Truman, himself, harbored some of these doubts. He wrote in his diary:

"I was very much shocked. I am not easily shocked but was certainly shocked when I was told of the President's death and the weight of the government had fallen on my shoulders. I did not know

what reaction the country would have to the death of a man whom they all practically worshiped. I was worried about reaction of the armed forces. I did not know what effect the situation would have on the war effort, price control, war production and everything. I knew the President had a great many meetings with Churchill and Stalin. I was not familiar with any of these things, and it was really something to think about, but I decided the best thing to do was to go home and get as much rest as possible and face the music."

When he became President, little was known of Mr. Truman's background, his character or his personality, aside from the fact that he had come to the Senate in 1935 as the candidate of the Fendegast machine in Kansas City.

Early Setbacks
Except for his record for bravery as a soldier in World War I and a reputation of being a competent administrator of the affairs of Jackson County, his life had been marked by many setbacks.

He had tried farming without any great success and after the war Capt. Harry and an Army buddy, Eddie Jacobson, opened a haberdashery in downtown Kansas City. But after an early success, the store went bankrupt in the 1920s.

In 1934, at the age of 50, on the eve of his announcement for the Senate, Harry Truman wrote in his diary:

"I have come to the place where all men strive to be at my age, and I thought two weeks ago that retirement on a virtual pension in some minor county office was all that was in store for me."

This was written almost 11 years to the day before he was the commander in chief of the mightiest armed force in the history of the world and was announcing on his 61st birthday that Germany had surrendered to the Allies.

Mr. Truman was tapped for the Senate post for the same reason Tom Fendegast chose him to run for county judge in 1920. The notorious political boss wanted a man on the ticket who had an unchallenged reputation for honesty.

Later, Mr. Truman said "Tom Fendegast never asked me to do a dishonest deed."

When Fendegast was convicted of income tax evasion and sent to prison, Mr. Truman stood by him. "I wouldn't desert a ship in distress," he said. And a few days after he became Vice-President, Harry Truman attended the funeral of the man who was "my friend."

Mr. Truman's first decision as President made moments after he took the oath of office, was an order to Secretary of State Edward R. Stettinius Jr. to move ahead as planned with U.S. participation in the coming San Francisco conference that created the United Nations.

This was only the beginning. For the next weeks and months the new President was confronted by one major event after another.

After he was in office 13 days, Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson revealed to Mr. Truman the secret Manhattan Project that had been developing an atomic bomb.

And less than a month after he took the oath, the Germans surrendered and the war in Europe was ended.

On that day he wrote one of his many "Dear Mama and Mary" letters to his mother and sister in Grandview, Mo. He noted:

"Things have moved at a terrific rate here since April 12. Never day has gone by that some momentous decision didn't have to be made. So far luck has been with me. I hope it keeps up. It can't stay with me forever, however, and I hope when the mistake comes it won't be too great to remedy."

At Potsdam

In July, 1945, he went to Potsdam, Md., for the postwar conference with Churchill and Stalin to clarify and expand upon the agreements the original Big Three had reached at Yalta.

As it turned out, when Russia refused to live up to the agreements, the Potsdam conference had the effect of not only deciding the broad outlines for the occupation policies in Germany, but also the boundaries and political future of Eastern Europe.

The Potsdam meeting was President Truman's first face-to-face meeting with Churchill. And the British wartime leader wrote later of this first meeting:

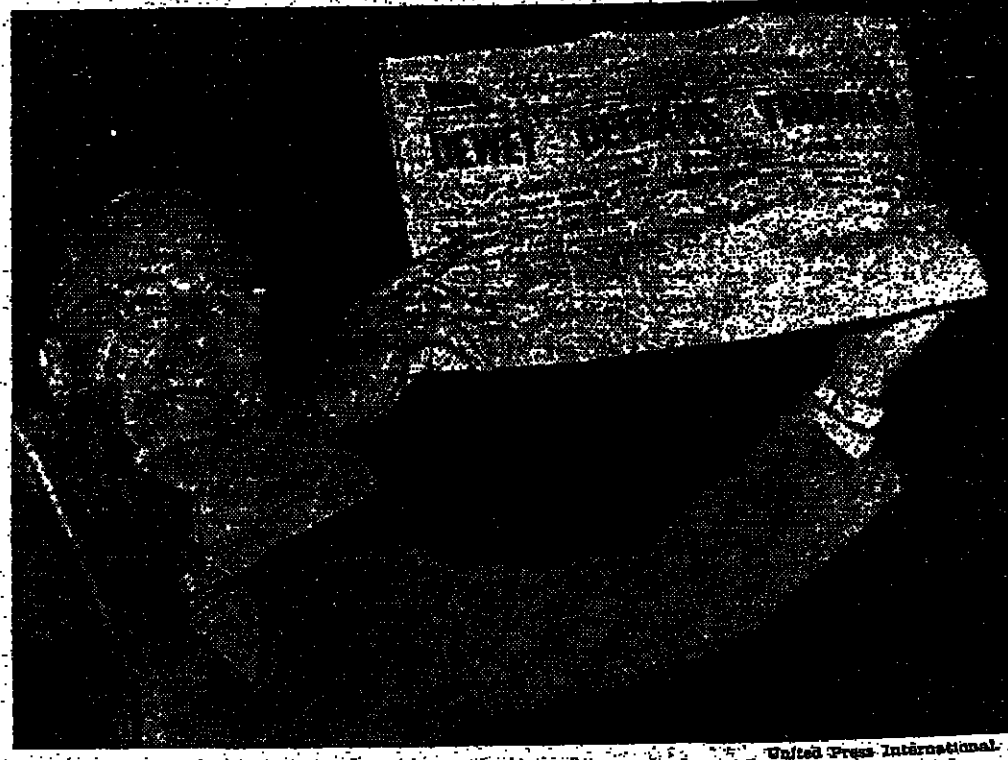
"I felt that here was a man of exceptional character and ability and a great deal of self-confidence and resolution."

There is no record of what Stalin thought of the American President. But Mr. Truman said of the Russian dictator: "He was as near like Tom Fendegast as I can know."

President Truman came away from the Potsdam conference convinced of one thing: "Force is the only thing the Russians understand."

During the conference, Mr. Truman received the news that the expedition to New Mexico had been successful. He and Prime Minister Churchill decided to deliver an ultimatum to Japan to surrender unconditionally or face the most severe consequences.

The message sent July 26 warned Japan's leaders that "the full application of our mil-



NOV. 4, 1945—Holding a Chicago Daily Tribune that named Dewey the winner.



INDEPENDENCE, MO.—Wife Bess, daughter Margaret at Truman home yesterday.

tary power, backed by our resolve, will mean the inevitable and complete destruction of the Japanese armed forces and just as inevitably the utter devastation of the Japanese homeland." However, no mention was made of the nuclear weapon the United States now had.

Churchill wrote in his memoirs that at that time he thought of the spectacle of Olden and the suicidal resistance of Japanese troops there and that "to quell the Japanese resistance man by man and conquer the country yard by yard might well require the loss of a million American lives and half that number of British."

The Bomb
Churchill said he never doubted that President Truman would use the atomic bomb "but I have never doubted since that he was right."

Mr. Truman wrote that "that it was not an easy decision to make. I did not like the weapon. But I had no qualms if, in the long run, millions of lives could be saved."

More than 12 years later, he made the same point in replying to criticism of his decision by the Hiroshima city council. He reminded the head of the council that the need for the bombing decision would never have arisen had "we not been stabbed in the back by Japan at Pearl Harbor."

Even after the war, President Truman was given no breather. In fact, the problems of the postwar world—both at home and abroad—seemed more difficult and frustrating.

At home, this was reflected in Mr. Truman's declining popularity. The Republicans captured control of Congress in 1946 and all the political sagas were convinced that Harry Truman would be defeated in 1948.

Around Mr. Truman was faced with an ever more militant policy by Russia to consolidate and increase Communist gains in Europe and the Middle East.

His set-back policy toward Russia forced a break with Henry A. Wallace, the man he replaced as Vice-President in 1944 and the man who would lead a third party candidacy against him four years later.

1948 Election
By 1948 Mr. Truman was being written off as a political failure by nearly everyone, including some of the leading members of his own party. He was being challenged not only by the Republicans, but also on the left by Mr. Wallace's candidacy and on the right by then Gov. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, who was running as the States Rights party candidate.

All the polls showed that Republican Gov. Thomas E. Dewey of New York would defeat Harry Truman. One pollster, Elmer Roper, even stopped taking any samples early in the campaign because he believed the race was already decided.

But Harry Truman refused to believe the polls or the so-called political experts. He traveled 31,700 miles in a "give 'em hell" whistle-stop campaign and made 336 speeches denouncing the

Republicans and the "no-good, do-nothing 80th Congress."

Mr. Truman wrote of his campaign: "I simply told the people in my own language that they had better wake up to the fact that it was their fight. If they did not get out and help me win this fight, I emphasized, the Republicans would soon be giving the farmers and the workers the little end of the stick again."

"I spoke bluntly and sincerely and warned the people that if they were fools enough to accept the little end, they deserved it."

To this day, political experts are still puzzled by the Truman upset. But Jonathan Daniels, the North Carolina editor who had served as a White House assistant under both Presidents Roosevelt and Truman, lit on this point:

"Americans felt leaderless when Roosevelt died. Truman taught them, as one of them, that their greatness lies in themselves."

After Leaving Office

President Truman's political influence was strong enough in 1952, when he decided not to run for re-election, to select Gov. Adlai Stevenson of Illinois as the Democratic presidential nominee.

The President campaigned vigorously for Mr. Stevenson, but the Illinois governor had doubts as to whether this helped or hurt. Relations between the two men cooled and in 1954 Mr. Truman tried unsuccessfully to push the candidacy of New York Gov. Averell Harriman against Mr. Stevenson. This was the last Democratic National Convention Harry Truman attended.

He returned to go to the 1960 convention in Los Angeles because he thought it was right for the nomination of Sen. John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts. Mr. Truman's candidate at that time was Sen. Stuart Symington of Missouri. By 1964 and 1968, his health did not permit him to attend.

During most of his retirement years, Mr. Truman devoted himself to the Truman Memorial Library in Independence and the writing of his memoirs. He also had more time to spend with his childhood sweetheart, the former Miss Bess Wallace, better known as Bess, and during the whistle-stop days of 1948 as "the best."

He also had time to spend visiting with his grandsons, the children of daughter Margaret and Clinton Daniel, associate editor of The New York Times.

Folly Followed

Harry Truman's mark on history is in the field of foreign policy. He was the architect of the postwar policy that has been followed by every U.S. President since.

The essence of this policy was announced in his special message to Congress on March 12, 1947, when he asked for aid to Greece and Turkey. He said then:

"Totalitarian regimes imposed on free people by direct or indirect aggression, undermine the foundations of international peace and hence the security of the United States."

This was the reasoning behind American aid to Greece and Turkey, behind the Marshall Plan aid to a stricken Europe and the intervention in Korea.

President Truman said that the decision to send U.S. troops to Korea was the hardest one he had to make in the White House. But he felt he had no choice.

He wrote in his memoirs that on the flight from Missouri to Washington on the day the North Koreans invaded South Korea, he had some time to think:

"In my generation, this was not the first occasion when the strong had attacked the weak. I recalled some earlier instances: Manchuria, Ethiopia, Albania. I remembered, however, each time that the democracies failed to act. It had encouraged the aggressors to keep going ahead. Communism was acting in Korea just as Hitler, Mussolini, and the Japanese had acted (ten, 15 and 20 years earlier).

"I felt certain that if South Korea was allowed to fall, Communist leaders would be emboldened to override nations closer to our own shores. If the Communists were permitted to force their way into the Republic of Korea without opposition from the free world, no small nation would have the courage to resist threats and aggression by stronger Communist neighbors."

"If this was allowed to go unchallenged it would mean a Third World War, just as similar incidents had brought on the Second World War. It was also clear to me that the foundations and the principles of the United Nations were at stake unless this unprovoked attack on Korea could be stopped."

This desire to prevent the unprovoked devastation of World War III was his overriding concern throughout the 7 years, 6 months and 5 days he served as President.

Early in his term, shortly after the end of World War II, he put some private thoughts down on White House stationery.

He wrote that he could see some of the forces of "selfishness, greed and jealousy" at work and he wondered if he could continue to "outface the demagogues, the chisellers and the jealousies."

"Time only will tell," he wrote. "The human animal and his emotions change not much from age to age. He must change now or he faces absolute and complete destruction, maybe the insect, age or an atmosphereless planet will succeed him."

In his last address to the American people before leaving the White House, Harry Truman said:

"We have averted World War III up to now, and we may have already succeeded in establishing conditions which can keep that war from happening as far ahead as man can see."

That was the legacy Harry Truman left the American people and the people of the world.

UP 1952

The Truman Paradox

When Harry S. Truman emerged from the shadow of the fallen Franklin D. Roosevelt, few regarded him as more than a political accident, and one that, in the swift rush of events in the spring of 1945, could have portentous meaning for the United States and the grand alliance against Hitler and Japan. When, not long thereafter, the unobtrusive Clement Attlee succeeded Winston Churchill, it seemed that the anticlimax of a heroic age had been reached: Men great for good or ill had been swept off the board—Mussolini, Hitler, Roosevelt, Churchill, even the young De Gaulle—and power had passed, to all appearances, to lesser figures.

But Harry Truman, as his gallant fight in the sickroom has typified, was made of stronger and larger stuff than his critics believed or his political background implied. He faced a situation which the current crop of revisionist historians see only in the pale reflection of the documents: a shattered, hungry, distraught world, in which only the United States possessed undrained resources—and in which only Stalin remained of the pre-war generation of men of massive personal power.

How Truman met this challenge, this opportunity, is still the subject of intense debate, since the United States still wrestles with many of the legacies of his policy. Possibly he could have achieved a bilateral accord with the Kremlin, such as President Nixon is working out. But it would at best have been a division of the world between

two giants, not the measured agreements of two large states in a context of many powers, national, ideological and economic. Such a division might well have created satellite continents, and, almost inevitably, a more massive confrontation than any the world has known since 1945.

What would the world have been like without the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Common Market, yes, without the Korean war? To those whose whole attention is focused upon the failures of American policy-makers to meet, swiftly enough, the changes since Stalin's death, the answer may be easy. There would, they believe, have been no Vietnamese war to be America's costly shame. But the institutions Harry S. Truman helped to shape have their constructive aspects as well, and what America did during Truman's tenure in the White House, like Attlee's "quiet revolution" in Britain, has much indeed of enduring value.

Truman was a paradox in that a little Missouri ward politician, catapulted into authority, surrounded by such impressive military personalities as Marshall, Eisenhower and MacArthur, mistrusted initially by many, made, without the apparatus of political charisma, an abiding mark on world history. He had his moments of mere pique, his own conceits; he never projected a public image of authority in word or presence. But he did his duty as he saw it, with great courage and no little wisdom and the people of the United States can be grateful for his concentrated devotion.

The Change at CIA

There are such strict limits to what is knowable about the Central Intelligence Agency and its workings that any discussion of Mr. Helms's departure from the directorship and Mr. Schlesinger's appointment to replace him must necessarily rest on a comparatively small store of information. Even so, one or two things are plain. And chief among these is the fact, evident from what is known about the two men themselves, that one highly qualified and eminently capable official is being replaced by another.

Richard Helms has spent most of his professional life in intelligence work, and he has acquired a reputation among those qualified to judge as a man of great honesty and tough-mindedness. The term "tough-minded" in this connection can only summon forth imaginary either muscle for some people and visions of grown men running around endlessly showing each other under trains. But Mr. Helms—unfappable, personally disinterested, and beyond the reach of political or ideological pressures where his judgment is concerned—earned his reputation for tough-mindedness in an intellectual sense. As agency director, he has been far less a public figure or celebrity than some of his predecessors—Allen Dulles, for example, or John McCone—evidently preferring to maintain a certain becoming obscurity. He has worked very effectively with some of his overseers on the hill. And, if the leaked (not by CIA) material, such as the Pentagon Papers, that has been appearing in the press is any guide, he and his agency have also served their executive branch leaders with some distinction. One gets the impression that from the presumed efficacy of bombing the North Vietnamese to the presumed neces-

sity of responding to every wild surmise of what the Russians were up to in nuclear weapons development, Mr. Helms has offered a practical, dispassionate and rigorously honest—if not always popular—view.

That the Congress will be pushing for some greater degree of responsiveness from the CIA in the coming session seems pretty certain. And there also is at least a chance that internal bureaucratic difficulties at the agency will require some managerial rearrangements. In a way, solely because he comes to CIA from outside (not from up the ranks), James Schlesinger may be specially suited to take on both. But he has other qualifications. At the Rand Corporation in California, Mr. Schlesinger did analytic work that gave him more than a passing familiarity with the intelligence estimating business. At the Budget Bureau—as it was then known—in the early days of the Nixon administration he proved himself a very astute, not to say downright cold-eyed, scrutineer of military budget requests. His brief term at the Atomic Energy Commission notable in several respects. Mr. Schlesinger bucked the pressure of the atomic energy establishment to insist that the AEC take note of and respond to the claims of its ecological critics. And he attempted to push the agency back from its political role toward the more disinterested service role it was meant in the first place to fulfill. He, like Mr. Helms, is demonstrably a man of talent, dedication and impressive intellect. We should have been content to see them stay on in their present jobs. But if Mr. Helms is to leave the Central Intelligence Agency, we think Mr. Schlesinger is a first-class choice to replace him.

THE WASHINGTON POST.

Damper on Détente

The basic treaty between East and West Germany opens a new era in the relations between the two German states—although some of the euphoria that originally greeted conclusion of the treaty has now largely, and with good reason, evaporated.

The flood of West Germans to visit relatives and friends will increase rapidly under the broad thrust of the basic treaty and the specifics of an earlier traffic pact between the two sides. But the Communist government in East Berlin has invoked sweeping new restrictions on contacts with the visitors from the West that may apply to as many as two million of East Germany's 17 million people.

An outright ban on contacts with Western visitors has been decreed for some categories of East Germans. Certain government officials, party workers, union leaders, soldiers and police are even forbidden to have Western visitors in their homes and must get permission to see them at other places.

East German Communists are frank about the dangers they see from "the advancing policy of peaceful coexistence between

countries of different social order." Their fears are echoed in more subdued fashion by Communist leaders of Czechoslovakia and Poland. Some specialists believe the latest Russian crackdown on dissenting intellectuals is part of a girding up for greater contacts with the West regarded as unavoidable in a period of so-called détente.

Such fears, restrictions and precautions are an ugly portent for the European security conference, long sought by Moscow and now regarded as inevitable during 1973. The West had hoped at minimum to get some commitment from the Soviet Union and its allies for a freer flow of people and information between East and West Europe in return for the increased trade, credits and technological aid the Communists seek.

Despite discouragements of the kind inflicted by a still-insecure Communist government in East Germany, the West must persist with the valid argument that genuine détente and even expanded economic cooperation will be possible only in a relaxed climate that permits people and ideas to move more freely across Europe.

THE NEW YORK TIMES.

In the International Edition

Seventy-Five Years Ago

December 27, 1897

WASHINGTON—Senator Lodge has urged the passage of a bill allowing the United States to purchase the Caribbean islands of St. Thomas, St. John, St. John, Denmark has to Santa Cruz and the United States that it is willing to sell the islands and that two European governments, possibly Great Britain and Germany, are now negotiating for their purchase. Senators Lodge says that unless the United States acquires the islands, either Britain or Germany will do so.

Fifty Years Ago

December 27, 1922

NEW YORK—A "spanking week" has been suggested for New York's badly trained children. Now, not exactly that, perhaps, but some other chastening device for stimulating remembrance of the maxims of good sense, might be discreetly applied to the childish statesmen of many countries which we are not bound necessarily to name. The first week of each New Year would not be inappropriate as a fixture for this exercise.



A Shrewdness of Kissingers: II

By C. L. Sulzberger

PARIS.—Not even the "Kissingers" of this world are entirely sure just who are full members of their club. Thus I have been told at various times by one or another of this select establishment that Frau Katharina Focke, charming expert on Western Europe, is really Brandt's "Kissinger" or that Robert Temple Armstrong, principal private secretary to the prime minister, is really Heath's Kissinger. In neither case is this correct.

Dr. Focke, now a cabinet member but who recently adorned the chancellery's office, is the daughter of a famous German journalist and adviser on European matters. Armstrong, a charming old Etonian who works at the prime minister's right hand and is an expert on finance, is not the nearest British equivalent to Henry Kissinger. The original of the species considers Egon Bahr and Sir Burke Trend as his German and British peers.

Confusion arises because it is impossible to have a genuine "Kissinger" in a parliamentary system of government. Brandt explained to me he must always deal the foreign ministry into diplomatic games because the minister, Walter Scheel, also heads the Liberal (F.D.P.) party whose minority coalition participation keeps Brandt chancellor. Therefore Brandt says he can only use Bahr as a special agent on a limited mission and not as a full-fledged "Kissinger." That would risk splitting the coalition. Even with this limitation there is friction in the foreign ministry because of Bahr's role and a feeling that at times the ministry is insufficiently informed.

Lieutenants

Brandt also emulates Nixon's system of personal lieutenants apart from Bahr. Horst Ehmke, minister without portfolio, has been a trouble-shooter doing something like the White House jobs of Haldeman and Ehrlichman. Herbert Wehner, Social Democratic floor leader in the Bundestag, serves as an idea man for the chancellor.

At some point a comparable situation exists in England. Trend is the closest thing to a "Kissinger." When Henry Kissinger himself goes to London and wants to talk with an alter ego he consults Sir Burke. Under the British governing system Kissinger knows that whatever he confides to Trend goes to the prime minister himself, not just the foreign secretary.

However, no genuine "Kissinger" would be tolerated by the English cabinet, which would resign if there were one, or by parliament, which would raise hell. On two occasions when a prime minister tried to use the "Kissinger" formula—during the 1938 appeasement of Hitler and during the 1968 Suez collaboration with France and Israel—there were explosions of wrath after the news eventually leaked.

Michel Jobert

As cabinet secretary, Trend is in charge of assembling the views of all ministers concerned with any problem and, if possible, with compiling options for prime ministerial decisions. But Trend is a nonparty civil servant. He was just as loyal to Harold Wilson as he is to Heath. When Nixon and Heath have a personal summit, Trend and Kissinger first work out the approximate agenda. In France, where the position of president is nearer to that of Nixon than the position of prime minister in England or chancellor

in West Germany, Michel Jobert has an easier time and less inhibited authority than his equivalents in London and Bonn.

Jobert is immensely intelligent and hard working. He often looks tired, rarely emerges in Paris society, is frequently called to the Elysée even on Sundays. He takes an annual one-month holiday but returns to Paris every week. Although he has one weak arm he plays a determined game of tennis, likes to paddle a kayak canoe and is a passionate gardener.

Jobert is in charge of everything that passes the president's desk; foreign policy only occupies about a third of his time. His job is to coordinate and to get the proper experts working on any problem that arises.

When U.S. Ambassador Watson (recently resigned) arranged Nixon's Azores meeting with Pompidou, the entire matter was handled between the White House and the Elysée with Watson and Jobert discussing the details. Neither the State Department nor the Quai d'Orsay knew about it until the program had been settled.

Nobody in France's executive branch has any complexes about not dealing with the foreign ministry. Pompidou, like De Gaulle, considers diplomacy and defense "reserved domains" which the Elysée runs. Maurice Schumann, head of the Quai d'Orsay, has no more ultimate authority than William Rogers, lord of foggy bottom. Each is hoist by his own "Kissinger."

Harry Truman

By William F. Buckley Jr.

NEW YORK.—For a while, Harry Truman was enormously popular among the academic elite. He reached the peak of popularity after his defeat of Thomas E. Dewey, whose self-assurance divided into three camps made his defeat all the more satisfying. The academic flirtation with Henry Wallace was brief, and by the time the fall of 1948 came around, Wallace had lost all but hardened fellow-travelers and the advanced adulated Strom Thurmond, of course, was merely a Democratic embarrassment. They went accordingly to work for Harry Truman, a man they had despised in part because he presumed to sit at the desk of his great predecessor, in part because his vulgarly was always showing through, in part because of the general postwar diplomatic and economic pandemonium.

At one point in the demoralized spring of 1948, when Harry Truman was considered un-electable, and when Democratic party leaders were urging him not to run again, Sen. Claude Pepper publicly proposed that the Democrats nominate Gen. Dwight Eisenhower, and permit him to take the platform for the Democratic party.

Begins to Fight

Then Truman began to fight. And suddenly the tastemakers discovered him. The coarser his rhetoric, the more vituperatively he denounced the Republicans, the more they liked it. One has visions of the ascetic, aristocratic Arturo Toscanini, who used to like nothing more than viewing the old wrestling matches on television about which he would get so excited he would jump up and down on the couch yelling "Keel him! Keel him!" Which is exactly what Truman went on to do to his opponent, as the professors jumped up and down on their lecture platforms.

By the time the end of the next term came, the public had visibly tired of Truman. Sen. McCarthy had dramatized the extraordinary postwar diplomatic defeats. We were fighting in South Korea a war which Truman was pleased to call a police action. We had lost China, and it was plain that the Soviet Union had no intention of releasing the countries it held captive in East Europe. The Soviet Union had developed an atom bomb three years before the most pessimistic estimate of when they would do so. Domestically, Truman's arro-

gance was wearing the public down. He thought one day on the flimsiest ground to take possession of the steel industry, and was quickly rebuked by the Supreme Court. He was always wrangling with Congress and declining to permit congressional committees to examine executive records. He had indeed developed a megalomania which was socially embarrassing, at odds with the republican spirit which is especially appropriate to Democratic presidents.

He chose, wisely, not to run again, and left the White House without anything more than a purely perfunctory exchange with his successor. But as the years went on, so did the rehabilitation of Harry Truman.

Acheson's Role

At this enterprise his old friend Dean Acheson was tireless, remarking the solid qualities of Truman's character, his decisiveness and courage, the implacable stands he had taken against the Soviet Union in Greece, and against Red China in Korea. He had given the order, against the advice of the great Oppenheimer, to construct a hydrogen bomb. He knit together the network of alliances that still survive, at least formally. He enthusiastically presided over the foreign aid that catalyzed the economic recovery of West Europe. And like Cincinnatus returned to civilian pursuits, he now devoted himself to his library, to entertaining foreign and domestic visitors, and to occasional acts of charming exuberance like playing the piano with Jimmy Durante. He was hailed as a great president.

For his sake it is good that he was not fully aware during the last few years, so heavy now with displeasure against him and his policies is the critical mood. He, it is said, is more responsible than any man in America for the cold war, for the internecine alliances, for United States militarism and chauvinism, for a delay in discharging our obligations to racial equality. Thus the pendulum swung, and he wasn't in ill health, fit, as in the old days, to grab hold of it and hurl it back, knocking over the faint-hearted, the revisionists, the ideological egalitarians who are currently in control of the history factories. Harry Truman made many grievous mistakes, but it is not his mistakes that are singled out for criticism, but his triumphs.

Malta—An Island At the Crossroads

By Stuart Troup

VALETTA, Malta.—Prime Minister Dom Mintoff's goal of making the British goodbye within seven years is still 17 months after his election, without a disclosed plan for making the island financially independent.

Instead, Malta is awash with fear not necessarily conducive to attracting investment. And the Labor government, while preparing the course toward economic viability through industrialization, has chucked the financial incentives offered by the previous administration and has increased corporation taxes by 50 percent.

"The plan is not here yet, it has not yet been published, but that does not mean that we don't have a plan," protests Paul Naudi, Malta's director of information. "It is being prepared; we are putting everything in writing, and it will be published soon."

The plan ostensibly would be based on recommendations of the Industries Promotion Council, a nine-man group of international industrialists appointed by Mintoff two months ago to determine Malta's needs. The council has met just once, briefly, and apparently has not yet drawn any conclusions. But others have. "No such target of economic viability in seven years can be achieved unless Malta is a safe place for investment," says J.G. Vassallo, director general of the Malta Chamber of Commerce. "Most important, there is no clear indication of where Malta will go—East or West—after the financial agreement (on renting the military installations to British forces) ends in seven years."

Not Worried

Naudi says the government is not worried. "We are at the crossroads of the Mediterranean. That has been proved in war, we hope to prove it in peace," he says. About the concern over whether Malta will look eastward or westward when the financial agreement with Great Britain ends in seven years, Naudi says: "We have very good relations with the Arab states and with Israel. We want to be at peace with everyone."

Added to the fear by some about whether Malta will turn eastward or westward when the British agreement is terminated is the worry many Maltese are expressing about human rights. That worry is so strong, they claim, that they are unwilling to express it outside of anonymity.

The government has said that it wants to change the constitution. "The prime minister says that the opposition (Nationalist party) should see reason and cooperate," Naudi explains. If they do not, some fear Mintoff will try to make the changes anyway.

The areas in which he wants changes all require a two-thirds majority in parliament, and his Labor party has a majority of one seat. He wants to change the electoral law and Malta's position in the Commonwealth. He also wants to lower the voting age to 18 and eliminate the post of vice-president on the constitutional court. And it is on the latter issue that much of the Maltese fear is focused.

The post of vice-president is now vacant, and the court cannot legally function unless it is filled. What's more, the government has said the opposition in parliament that it will not fill the post unless various changes in the constitution are agreed to. If Mintoff was to decide to make changes without the needed two-thirds majority, there would be no constitutional court to which to appeal.

Plan Awaited

In that climate of uncertainty, Malta apparently is on the threshold of announcing a plan to attract investment and to achieve economic viability through an industrial rather than its traditional services society. While economic viability is a goal of both major parties in Malta, the emphasis on industrialization is seen as unrealistic by the Nationalists because the island does not have the raw materials to support it. "That argument is completely wrong," Naudi says. "Japan is bigger, but it has no raw materials. The secret is that what they don't have in raw materials they make up for in organization and manpower."

Mike Refalo, a member of parliament and spokesman for the opposition Nationalists, feels the prime minister has not given much importance to tourism. The tourist board is doing its best, but the foreign policy is not as clear as it was, and certain announcements have effects on tourism.

The Malta hotels and restaurants association reports a decrease from 1971 of almost 20 percent in the number of visitors this year; no doubt attributable to tensions caused by the Anglo-Maltese negotiations last winter. Naudi says that there is a \$250,000

campaign to rekindle the interest of the British, who have been Malta's largest tourist group.

"During the past 12 months, a great deal has been done by the Labor government," says Raulo Farrugia, a member of the Labor party's national executive council and an economist. "What has been done is not tangible in physical achievements. It has been a cleanup-up process." As an example, Farrugia cites government efforts to reduce the number of civil servants, who comprise 20 percent of the national labor force. All hiring has ceased and it is hoped that attrition will do the rest.

In the area of industrialization, Farrugia notes that China has committed \$17 million in grants and interest-free loans with a 12-year holiday on repayment.

"We will repay China in exports, not in money," Farrugia notes. "In effect, we are creating a market and also selling in anticipation of it." Other nations also have promised soft loans totalling \$20 million providing that equipment for such industrialization is purchased from those countries.

The incentives granted by the previous government of Malta to help fill the still vacant areas of government-built industrial parks have been eliminated—the subsidized rents, the tax holidays and grants, etc. "But other incentives are being studied," Farrugia says. "We plan to set up a development bank as an investment avenue for Maltese money and to provide for government participation in the industries."

The old incentives, he says, attracted a number of "very good British and American companies here, but we got only the employment factor, not any profits or even tax revenue because of the tax holidays that were granted for 10 years." Many of the companies that settled on the island folded when government aid had run its course.

"While the incentive plan of the Nationalist party did attract certain lame ducks and certain sharks," counters Refalo, "we did get a certain edge—12,000 new jobs, 12 percent of the labor force."

Malta, meanwhile, has increased its revenues for the first six months of the current fiscal year compared with the same period last year. But the increase of \$5.1 million includes the increase of more than \$9 million from rental of defense facilities and bilateral assistance—revenues the government hopes will be unneeded in seven years.

Despite the revenue increase, the government decreased spending by \$23 million during the same six-month period. That fact is causing concern with a number of Maltese economists who see the need for pumping funds back into the economy, the growth of which has already been arrested by the fall in tourism.

Many are concerned about the fall in tourist revenue and that which flowed at a considerable rate before many of the dependents of British forces left the island last winter.

Naudi replies: "We must do away with the image that Malta is a fortress. You cannot have soldiers and tourists. We have played our part in history, and it has been a great part."

Letters

'Just and Fair'

"Dr. Kissinger says he has been unable to reach an agreement 'that the President considers just and fair.' I suppose Nixon's high sensitivity to what he deems 'just and fair' to Thieu has been the stumbling block. Presidents have to stick together without any regard whatsoever for the welfare of the people over whom they preside. When is a leader of the U.S. going to think first in terms of what is 'just and fair' to U.S. citizens? Are we going through another four years of war, squandering more tens of billions of dollars on a cause that was lost years ago? We can only hope now that Congress will bring the war to an end by shutting off the money faucet."

E.J. O'CONNELL

Paris.

A Question

From a dispatch in the IET of Dec. 23:
"The U.S. command said that of the 43 crewmen missing this year, 36 were in E-52s. The total of missing is equal to 10 percent of the total of 431 Americans known to be prisoners in North Vietnam."

So what are we doing now, shooting for double or nothing?

ALDIN RATTI

Paris.

Soviet Party Official's Fall Tied to Czech Invasion Role

MOSCOW, Dec. 26 (AP)—Kremlin Politburo member Pyotr Shelest is facing a fall from power over his role in the Czech invasion of 1968 and his subsequent role in the Prague Spring.



Pyotr Shelest

to growing Ukrainian nationalism, Soviet sources say.

The informant, who has access to Kremlin opinions, says Mr. Shelest was dismissed this year as head of the Ukrainian Communist party for presenting the ruling Politburo with false reports that provoked the decision to invade Czechoslovakia.

The informant reports that party secretary-general Leonid I. Brezhnev wants to dissociate himself from a major foreign-policy embarrassment, and that Mr. Shelest is being made to pay for it. The source gave the following account:

Mr. Shelest attended a meeting between Mr. Brezhnev and Czech leader Alexander Dubcek from July 29 to Aug. 1, 1968, at Cierna nad Tisou, Czechoslovakia. Also present was Vasil Bilak, a conservative member of Mr. Dubcek's delegation and a long-time friend of Mr. Shelest.

Caretaker Government

After the Cierna meeting, Mr. Brezhnev and most members of the Politburo went to their Black Sea summer homes, leaving a caretaker government in Moscow. Mr. Shelest was one of those who remained in the Soviet capital.

On Aug. 15 Mr. Shelest proposed an urgent meeting of the Politburo to discuss the Czech crisis. At a meeting in the Kremlin the next day, Mr. Shelest presented his associates with what he called proof that Mr. Dubcek's liberalization program had exceeded the limits established by Moscow and that the Czech Communist party was in imminent danger of being subordinated to Mr. Dubcek's "right-wing" leadership.

The Politburo decided to give the green light to the Warsaw Pact armies poised on the Czech frontier.

Soviet Defense Minister Marshal Andrei A. Grechko, however, expressed concern over the international military consequences and agreed only after the Soviet ambassador in Washington, Anatoly Dobrynin, reported that American forces would not interfere with the Warsaw Pact occupation of Czechoslovakia.

On the night of Aug. 20-21, the Soviet-led pact troops invaded Czechoslovakia. Mr. Shelest's role in the invasion prompted an international outcry from Soviet-bloc parties, from Communist theorists and intellectuals, from foreign Communist parties and from the Western powers.

The Kremlin leaders believed Mr. Shelest had led to the Politburo to achieve his own hard-line political ends and to satisfy the wishes of his Czech friend Mr. Bilak.

Mr. Brezhnev enlarged the Politburo by four men—two of whom owed him some form of allegiance. Mr. Shelest further incurred the wrath of the pro-Brezhnev Politburo when he strongly opposed the secretary-general's plans for a summit meeting with President Nixon.

The Politburo's first chance to weaken Mr. Shelest's position came in 1971, when a Belgian student, Yvan Dobosch, was arrested in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev and charged with "subversive anti-Soviet activities."

Mr. Dobosch had applied for a tourist visa to visit Kiev, a center for the Ukraine's intelligentsia and growing nationalist dissent. The security police initially turned down the visa application on the grounds that Mr. Dobosch belonged to a Ukrainian nationalist organization in the West.

Mr. Shelest, however, personally intervened and arranged for Mr. Dobosch to obtain his visa.

Nationalist Sympathies After Mr. Dobosch's arrest, Mr. Shelest was charged with harboring sympathies for the Ukrainian nationalist movement, failing to curb dissent and directly contributing to an international incident by permitting Mr. Dobosch to enter the Soviet Union, thereby forcing the security police to arrest him.

On May 19, 1972, the Central Committee of the Communist party convened in Moscow and ordered Mr. Shelest, 64, to step down as head of the Ukrainian party.

His removal was announced publicly May 25 as Mr. Brezhnev discussed army control and bilateral trade with President Nixon in the Kremlin.

Nine days later Mr. Dobosch was quietly released and sent home to Belgium. Mr. Shelest was forced to give up control of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic's party apparatus and become one of 10 powerful deputy premiers under the firm hand of Mr. Kosygin.



MUSICAL COMEDY—It's hard to tell whether this chimpanzee, a born actor, is really serious, or only teasing the pretty girl as she plays her melody.

Widespread Fraud Suspected

Consumer Agencies Probing U.S. Health, Reducing Clubs

By Grace Lichtenstein

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 (NYT)—Consumer-protection officials here and in several other metropolitan areas are investigating complaints that the \$200-million-a-year health-spa and figure-salon industry is permeated with fraud. Consumer agencies have focused their investigations on allegedly deceptive advertising, high-pressure sales pitches and long-term contracts used by some of the spas and salons that have sprung up around the country in the last four years.

Some physicians also are questioning the exercise programs at the clubs, which they say may be useless at best and dangerous at worst.

"Losing weight involves both diet and exercise," says Dr. Kenneth Rose, a former chairman of the American Medical Association's Committee on Physical Fitness. "Noting that some spas promise weight reduction through exercise alone, Dr. Rose said, 'The system lends itself to fraud because they're preying on people who are looking for an easy way to get a hard job done.'"

Officials emphasize that there are few complaints at many clubs and spas, where members do not sign contracts but simply pay for each visit. They say also that all clubs have numerous satisfied customers.

But in the New York City metropolitan area, clubs run by two of the biggest chains, Jack La Lanne and Nu-Dimensions, are under "intensive" investigation by the city's Department of Consumer Affairs.

The Federal Trade Commission's regional office, Attorney General Louis J. Lefkowitz, the Nassau County (Long Island) Consumer Affairs Office and the New Jersey Office of Consumer Protection are among other agencies with investigations under way. The files of the New York Regional Consumer Protection Council show complaints against 11 different spas and chains.

In addition, Chicago, Seattle and Phoenix agencies have taken formal actions in recent months to curb spa abuses.

The owners of spas and salons say that they are offering worthwhile programs for both fitness and reducing. "Our success really came about because people are more aware of the need to stay fit," says Thomas P. Sansone, general manager of the Jack La Lanne spas in the New York area.

Consumer agencies have recorded hundreds of complaints about certain practices, some of which were observed this month by reporters of The New York Times, who visited branches of four leading club chains.

The major consumer complaints recorded by government agencies are the following:

- Customers are lured to clubs by misleading advertising, including promises of a nonexercise "low introductory price," or two memberships for the price of one.
- Potential customers are promised the impossible—such as losing 10 pounds and 13 1/2 inches in eight weeks without dieting and sometimes with only passive "exercise" on vibrating lounge chairs.
- Some customers sign contracts with clubs supposedly under construction and have to wait as long as two years for the facility to open. Meanwhile, they are dunned and even sued for payments.
- Some customers say that their clubs are dirty or so overcrowded that they have little opportunity to use the facilities.
- After being promised "trained" instructors, some customers discover that supervising exercise classes is minimal or unenlightened.

There are two distinct types of clubs: the "figure salons" such as those run by Nu-Dimensions, which offer only passive vibrating loungers that are supposed to reduce fat, and the "health" spas, such as those in the Jack La Lanne chain, which offer swimming pools, gymnastic equipment, calisthenics classes and other features.

Equal publicity was not given to a Christmas party given by crew members of the Sampson, a destroyer, for children at a Greek orphanage.

"Frankly, our problem here is with the Greek press, not with the people," a U.S. Navy spokesman said.

Steps to improve relations with the press have begun, including trips out to the carrier force at sea for journalists to familiarize them with Sixth Fleet operations.

The trips often provide opportunities for the visitors to see units of the Soviet Navy that often shadow the U.S. fleet. Greece and the United States are members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

Robert Scott, Film Writer, Is Dead at 61

Jailed for Contempt Of Congress in 1949

LOS ANGELES, Dec. 26 (AP)—Robert Adrian Scott, 61, a movie writer-producer who once served a year in prison for refusing to testify before the House Un-American Activities Committee, died yesterday at his home here.

Mr. Scott recently underwent surgery for cancer.

Mr. Scott was born in Arlington, Va., and was a graduate of Amherst College. He came to California in 1938 as a writer for Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. He moved to the RKO studios in 1943. Among his film credits as a producer were "Murder, My Sweet," "The Boy With the Green Hair" and "Crossfire."

When called with other Hollywood writers to testify before the House committee in 1947, Mr. Scott and nine others refused to answer questions about alleged Communist influences in the film industry.

Mr. Scott was held in contempt of Congress, fined \$1,000 and sentenced to the federal prison in Ashland, Ky. His nine compatriots, who included screenwriters Dalton Trumbo and Ring Lardner Jr., also went to jail for their defiance of the congressional committee.

Following his release from prison in 1951, Mr. Scott became executive producer for a London film studio. He returned to the United States in 1968 to write television scripts and produce films for Universal-International Studios.

Macario Garcia

HOUSTON, Dec. 26 (AP)—Macario Garcia, 52, who received the highest U.S. award for valor in World War II, has been killed in an auto accident.

Mr. Garcia, 52, of Alief, Texas, and Myrtle Koonce, 48, of Houston, died Sunday night in a crash near Sugar Land, Texas.

Mr. Garcia, who was then an Army staff sergeant, won the Congressional Medal of Honor after he volunteered to dispose of two German machine-gun nests blocking his platoon's way in Germany on Nov. 17, 1944.

Although shot in the shoulder and foot, Sgt. Garcia cleared the way by killing six Germans and capturing four.

Born in Mexico, Mr. Garcia became a U.S. citizen after leaving the service with the rank of master sergeant. At the time of his death he was a contact man for the Veterans Administration in this area.

Constantine Bastias

ATHENS, Dec. 26 (AP)—Constantine Bastias, 71, a leading journalist, writer and historian, died here of heart failure today.

Mr. Bastias was vice-president of the Union of Athenian Newspapers, former head of the Department of Arts and Letters in the Ministry of Education and former director of the Greek National Theater.

He wrote several books, of which the best known is his "History of the Greek Nation."

13 Who Survived Andes Air Crash Will Fly Home

SANTIAGO, Chile, Dec. 26 (AP)—Thirteen Uruguayans who survived for 70 days after a plane crash in the Andes mountains Thursday despite their fears of flying resulting from their ordeal.

The three other survivors already have gone home by plane. The 13 were persuaded in a meeting with relatives and doctors that the return trip across the mountains by train and car would be less traumatic than their weakened condition.

There were 45 persons aboard the Uruguayan Air Force plane when it hit an Andean peak on Oct. 13. The plane was taking a rugby team to Chile for a series of matches. Twenty-nine persons had died by the end of October.

The survivors, all young men in their early 20s, said that they found the "terrible mountain silence," the endless boredom and periods of depression the worst part of their experience.

Tupolev's Burial

MOSCOW, Dec. 26 (UPI)—Aircraft designer Andrei N. Tupolev was buried with full military honors today in Moscow's Novodevichy Cemetery, the Tass press agency said. He died Saturday at 84.

U.S. Sixth Fleet, Dependents Take to Greek Home Port

Most of the wives of officers and enlisted men interviewed seem to find life in Athens, with more frequent family contacts, an improvement over their former Navy life. Families were separated nine months a year when Sixth Fleet units had their home ports on the U.S. Atlantic Coast.

Over a period of a year, members of the destroyer squadron and the carrier task force command spend an average of about 100 days in port, according to a Navy public affairs officer.

"We're satisfied that it's damned important to us," said Lt. Cmdr. James Mathews, who is public affairs officer for the fleet support office here, which organized the transfer here of the Sixth Fleet dependents.

American and Russian Sailors Celebrate Season on High Seas

OCEAN CITY, Md., Dec. 26 (AP)—Russian and American sailors got together about 250 miles out in the Atlantic yesterday for some Christmas goodwill of their own.

The Coast Guard cutter Gresham was on duty when the Russian oceanographic vessel Ernst Krenkel sailed past. The two vessels began talking with each other first by lights and then by radio.

The captain of the Russian vessel expressed holiday greetings and the Gresham returned them. Shortly thereafter, the Russian asked the Americans if they would accept some Christmas gifts. The answer was immediate and affirmative, and the Gresham's executive officer and another officer boarded a launch and motored to the Ernst Krenkel where they exchanged gifts.

There was no immediate indication what gifts were exchanged.

State Schools in London Bar Caning for 170,000 Children

LONDON, Dec. 26 (AP)—More than 170,000 London schoolchildren will return to classes in the new year with a new air of confidence, but many of their teachers may not.

The cane, bugaboo of the British schoolboy since time immemorial, will be banned in London's municipal primary schools from Jan. 1.

That springy bamboo stick, administered on the palm of the hand or on the posterior, has always been the ultimate deterrent in English schools. Many teachers feel its abolition will lead to more classroom violence and disorder.

Educators will be watching London to see what happens and whether the ban will become a precedent for other British school authorities, which have not yet abolished the cane.

The decision, made by the Inner London Education Authority after years of consultation with teachers, will prohibit corporal punishment of any child of primary-school age—5 to 11—attending any of the 623 state primary schools here.

The ban will not apply to schools outside London, nor will it affect the 62,870 children studying in London's other primary schools, mainly private or church-affiliated.

ILEA head Ashley Bramall, explaining the reason for the ban, said a survey showed nearly 40 percent of London primary schools had already ceased using the cane.

"I am convinced," he said, "that the tide of opinion among teachers is now flowing strongly in favor of abolition."

Schools which in 1968 still retained corporal punishment were employing it rarely, typically perhaps twice a year. Mr. Bramall said, "Now we have decided the whole practice should be ended."

ILEA says it plans to replace the whack of the cane with improved educational welfare services, child guidance centers and tutorial and remedial reading classes.

Australia to End Immigrant Quota On Basis of Race

GRIFFITH, New South Wales, Australia, Dec. 26 (Reuters)—Australia's recently elected Labor government will abolish racial considerations in the selection of immigrants, Albert Grassby, the immigration minister, said today.

Speaking from his home, Mr. Grassby said that it was the new government's policy "to cut out these invidious aspects" of the previous government's program, which has been described as the "White Australia policy."

"We will not set one family against the other—geographically, legally or emotionally—because of the color of their skin," he said.

Under Labor-Country government, which lost power in the Dec. 2 elections, a limit of 10,000 nonwhite immigrants was allowed into Australia each year. They had to pay their own way, although Australia grants funds for other immigrants.

In the future, non-Caucasians applying for assisted passage would be judged on their qualifications and likelihood of "blending" into Australian society, the minister said.

In a press statement today, Mr. Grassby announced a general review of his country's immigration program and added that next year's projected figure on immigration had been cut to 110,000; 140,000 were accepted this year.

E. German Flees As Guards Sleep

KOF, West Germany, Dec. 26 (AP)—A 19-year-old East German fled from his Communist border guards napping early today and rammed his speeding automobile through three barriers on the Berlin-Hof autobahn to escape to West Germany, Bavarian state police reported.

The Rhine valley town of Valence. The ministry said that the situation of the 13 would be "regularized." But an official of the Drôme department cautioned that the ministry's decision was "exceptional" and not a general one.

An earlier report in the International Herald Tribune had put the number of workers affected at 12.

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Asia, Africa Beasts Roam In U.S. Test

Habitat Experiment By New Mexico

SANTA FE, N. M., Dec. 26 (NYT)—Game animals from Asia and Africa that had never before run wild on the North American continent are now roaming the remote mountains and desert plateaus of New Mexico. They are here as part of an experiment by New Mexico's Game and Fish Department to determine how a natural environment similar to but other than their own.

The three species released to date into areas closed in by natural barriers such as mountains—are the gemsbok, or oryx, a ring-horned antelope from south-central Africa; the ibex, a wild short-legged Eurasian goat, and the Barbary sheep, from North Africa.

Imported animals that have not yet been set free include the Persian gazelle, which has lyre-like horns, and little Eiburs red sheep from Iran.

These species are either in the Albuquerque Zoo or foraging at the state's fenced-in "study pasture" and "production facility" at Red Rock in southwestern New Mexico.

Similar Region

The 2,000-acre Red Rock area has four pastures in two types of habitat—grasslands and desert rock cliffs. Here the animals find a climate, terrain, environment and vegetation that are very similar to those of their native surroundings.

The Barbary sheep, the first animals to be imported, were set free in 1950 in three regions of the state. Since 1955 they have been hunted by licensed sportsmen on a limited basis. Originally, the herd numbered 45; its present size is estimated at 500.

Two years ago, 15 Iranian ibex were corralled at the Red Rock reserve, where they had been under study. They were ferried by helicopter to the 7,355-foot peak of Florida Mountain, near Deming, N.M., and released. Periodic surveys indicated that the ibex were faring very well in their new surroundings. The animals have remained where they were released, and a recent census by helicopter counted 25 of them.

Some of the newcomers are unable to adapt to their new surroundings for one reason or another. In such cases, some of the animals are donated to the Albuquerque Zoo and the rest are sold to other zoos or to private game preserves to offset costs of the program.

Cold Harms Israeli Fruit

TEL AVIV, Dec. 26 (Reuters)—Israel's coldest spell for more than 10 years has caused damage to fruit and vegetables amounting to nearly 10 million Israeli pounds (\$2.3 million), Ministry of Agriculture sources said today.

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LEIPZIG

760-Year Tradition of Choral Singing

By Paul Moor

LEIPZIG, East Germany (IHT).—For anyone with a sense of musical tradition, a visit to the Church of St. Thomas in Leipzig may prove literally overwhelming; one not infrequently can see in the eyes of visitors attending a musical performance here for the first time.

The boys' choir, Die Thomaner or Der Thomaskantor, occupies a place among the very finest such groups anywhere in the world, but small wonder: die Thomaner look back on an un-

interrupted tradition of no less than 760 years. The present Thomaskantor, Hans Joachim Rotzsch, now only 43 years old, today holds the same office which a mere 15 Kantors ago, afforded faithful employment to Johann Sebastian Bach, who wrote some of his most inspired music for this church and its boys' choir.

Such a musical institution ought to suffice for one town of only some 650,000 inhabitants, but Leipzig also boasts the grand old Gewandhaus Orchestra, which has included among its regular conductors Felix Mendelssohn-Bartholdy (who in Leipzig single-handedly started the Bach renaissance by rescuing the St.

Matthew Passion from oblivion), Arthur Nikisch, Wilhelm Furtwängler, and Bruno Walter. The Gewandhaus and Dresden's State Opera Orchestra rank first among East Germany's symphonic groups, which means also among the greatest orchestras in the world.

Like many Central European orchestras, the Gewandhaus comprises many more full-fledged members than ever actually appear together for any single event. This makes it possible for the Gewandhaus Orchestra not only to play a regular concert series, usually under its present-day conductor Kurt Masur, but to play all performances by the outstanding Leipzig Opera and also to join die Thomaner for a number of oratorio performances in the Church of St. Thomas.

Extraordinary Pupils

The St. Thomas Boys' Choir during the centuries has had, understandably, some ups and downs. Karl Straube, who served as Thomaskantor from 1918 to 1939, brought the choir's musical standards back up to an excellence probably unique in the world at that time. He also produced some extraordinary pupils—among them Karl Richter, who at an early age became Thomaskantor, but then moved to Munich where, with his own Bach Choir and Orchestra, he soon built himself a world-wide reputation. When Leipzig subsequently tried to entice Richter back to become Thomaskantor, his decision to remain in Munich struck all Germany as something of a shock, for the majesty of the Leipzig position traditionally transcends such temporal phenomena as political divisions.

A few things have changed today for die Thomaner. For centuries they sang only church music, with an understandably heavy emphasis on Bach since his time there. With the urgent encouragement of the German Democratic Republic's cultural officials, the choir several years ago expanded its repertoire to include folk songs and secular works. In Bach's time, the choir numbered only 64, 17 of whom he personally described as "without ability."

The boys' choir at the Church of St. Thomas in Leipzig.

Paul Moor.

Rotzsch today has 80, and would like to raise that number to 120. Change of voice, for some reason, today comes earlier than in the past; during Bach's day, the choir accepted no applicant under 14, but the present-day choir recently had to lower its minimum age from 10 to 9 in order to hang onto its soprano and alto for at least a while before they evolve into tenors and basses.

On Saturdays

Many things, though, have not changed. Except when on the concert tours which have taken them almost all over the world, die Thomaner normally perform only in their home church, where their early-evening, Motetten every Saturday regularly fill every

seat. Living conditions in their school, attached to the church but financed by the city government, remain austere, not to say Spartan: one dormitory room for all 80 boys, sparsely furnished study rooms for 10 choristers each, no showers in the bathing installations, and an ancient system, barbarous by today's psychological standards, which acknowledges the right-way, obligation-of older pupils to punish younger ones who step out of line. Of all Leipzig's Gymnasien, only the St. Thomas School still offers Greek as an 8th-grade study.

The Christmas season traditionally brings Leipzigers a performance in the Church of St. Thomas of Bach's Christmas Oratorio, with good soloists and the Gewandhaus Orchestra together with that superb boys' choir. Hans Joachim Rotzsch, himself a native Leipziger and a former pupil of Kurt Masur, who served as Thomaskantor from 1937 to 1960, himself had a successful career as a singer before becoming Thomaskantor earlier this year. His conducting shows a singer's understanding for singers' problems, and one may expect that under his training there will return some of the vocal excellence of the choir

which at times during recent years has caused some concern. The name Gewandhaus, incidentally, denotes an ancient Leipzig building, destroyed during the last war, which had served Leipzig as a concert hall at the time of the orchestra's founding in 1743. A quotation from Seneca used to adorn the old Gewandhaus. It still serves as the official motto of the Gewandhaus Orchestra today, and, with regard to music, Leipzigers still stand by its message: True pleasure is a serious matter.

LENINGRAD

Valery Panov Waits

By Hedrick Smith

LENINGRAD (NYT).—In a modest but comfortable apartment virtually papered with ballet photos, Valery Panov does gymnastic exercises for 60 minutes a day and then another hour of ballet exercises at a bar especially installed in his 10-by-16-foot living room.

The ceiling is too low for him to practice the leaps that made him one of the Kirov Ballet company's leading dancers.

When the exercises are over, Panov says, he worries about being arrested on charges of parasitism—the lack of a steady job—or writes appeals to high Soviet officials asking for active consideration of his case.

The latest appeal, addressed on Dec. 3 to President Nikolai V. Podgorniy and also signed by his wife—Galina Ragozina, a Kirov ballerina—stated that it had been eight months since he had submitted a declaration to Soviet authorities asking for permission to emigrate to Israel.

But the trim, 34-year-old dancer says that government officials still refuse even to accept the documents in his case.

Obstacle

The stated obstacle, according to Panov, is that his wife's mother will not give them a paper acknowledging she knows that her 22-year-old son wants to leave the Soviet Union and that she has no objections. Such declarations are technically required but have reportedly been waived in many cases.

If that hurdle is somehow cleared, Panov faces a more formidable one. Although his father

is a Jew and his mother a Russian, his Soviet passport lists his nationality as Belorussian because he was born in the Belorussian Republic.

Panov began a successful career with Leningrad's Maly Theater and eventually joined the Kirov company. In the middle 1960s he began to win honors as a leading Kirov dancer, including one high state prize, and to attract international attention to the Kirov company, and in May, arrested and jailed under harsh conditions for what he describes as a provocation.

His wife, who had begun to dance leading roles and was considered to have a bright future, was swiftly demoted to a member of the corps de ballet. She then resigned in protest of the company's treatment of her husband and herself.

Since spring, neither has danced in performances or been allowed to practice at the Kirov or elsewhere.

Panov's situation prompted protests and petitions abroad to Soviet diplomats. But there is no evidence that the government has modified its position on the case in any way.

Some foreign diplomats suspect that after the defections to the West of two world-famous Kirov dancers, Rudolf Nureyev and Natalia Makarova, the Soviet authorities are especially determined to block Panov's exit.

PARIS

A Guide to the French Theater

By Thomas Quinn Curtiss

PARIS, Dec. 26 (IHT).—What is the best play in Paris? Where can I park my mother-in-law on New Year's Eve? Can I take my children to see "O! Calcutta"? What would my best girl like? Is there anything on that does not require a sturdy knowledge of French?

While all theatergoers may not find answers to their questions in the following list of recommended plays, there are stage productions for almost every taste now playing in Paris.

"Où se trouvent les Vaches" (at the Récamier). Probably the best play so far this season. Original and amusing surrealism of the early Ionesco variety, superbly acted by Roland Dubillard, its author, and Madeleine Renaud and expertly staged by Roger Blin.

"La Claque" (at the Théâtre de la Michodière). André Roussin's latest comedy about a music critic who is slapped by one of his victims at a gala concert—and what he does about it. Pierre Fresnay as the critic's honor-conscious country squire brother, Michel Galabru as the insulted critic and the rest of the company make a merry evening of it.

"Le Directeur de l'Opéra" (at the Comédie-des-Champs-Élysées). Jean Anouilh's new satirical comedy about an impresario troubled by his singers and his family with Paul Meurisse as the opera manager.

"Fracasse" (at the Théâtre de la Commune, Aubervilliers). A delightful dramatization of the Théophile Gautier picaresque novel, splendidly animated by a competent, young company headed by Jean-Claude Drouot as the noble knight.

"Sainte Fy" (at the Théâtre de la Ville). A translation from English of a strong play by Peter Nichols about life in a general hospital, admirably acted and produced. Perhaps not for the squeamish.

"Les Verrues" (at the Espace Pierre-Cardin). François Billeaud's dark poetic fantasy effectively staged.

"Le Légume" (at the Théâtre Hébertot). F. Scott Fitzgerald's only full-length dramatic effort, an expressionistic view of F. Scott Fitzgerald's life when Warren G. Harding was in the White House. Charming and skillfully enacted

by Simone Valère and Jean Desailly.

"Un Fape à New York" (at the Gaîté-Montparnasse). A French translation of John Guare's macabre farce about a bizarre New York household on the day that the pope visits Manhattan. Jean-Pierre Marielle as a defeated composer gives a performance of note.

"Antigone" (at the Théâtre National de l'Odéon). The French premiere of Brecht's version of the Sophocles tragedy with some of the Comédie-Française's leading lights. Excellent intellectual theater.

"La Camisole" (at the Théâtre Moderne). Joe Orton's macabre vaudeville about an alienist who

might be mistaken for one of his patients, with Jean-Pierre Darras as the nervous physician.

"Spectacle Saumures" (at the Théâtre Sorano). Two slender satires on British manners divertingly projected.

"Les Brangulnois" (at the Théâtre de la Bruyère). Robert Dhéry's fanciful intimate revue set in the frame of an amateur night try-out. An entertainment filled with bright conceits and zesty humor.

"Hello Dolly" (at the Mogador). The American musical comedy at last comes to Paris. "Orphée aux enfers" (at the Théâtre de la Mairie). The Offenbach opera bouffe lavishly revived.

Paris Opéra Pays Respects To the Great Serge Diaghilev

By David Stevens

PARIS, Dec. 26 (IHT).—A lot of ballet companies have paid their respects to Serge Diaghilev this year, each in its own way and each faithful in its own way, to commemorate the hundredth anniversary of the great impresario's birth.

The current ballet program at the Paris Opéra, which runs through New Year's Day, plays it on the safe side, considering the choices available under the name of Diaghilev. The Opéra had as close an association with the impresario as any theater in Paris. His first Paris theatrical venture was given there—"Boris Godunov"—although oddly enough none of the ballets on the present program was first performed there. "Les Sylphides" and "Petrouchka" were first given in Diaghilev-organized seasons at the Châtelet, and Balanchine's "Apollo Mnémosyne" at the Sarah Bernhardt.

Perhaps no single program could touch on every aspect of Diaghilev's genius for stimulating creativity and organizing it into spectacles that blended the various arts. But this program is a reminder that in 20 years he gave ballet a 20th-century repertoire—including not a few masterpieces and gave dance such a push toward the future that it still has not lost its momentum.

If the choreography was all Fokine and Balanchine, the indispensable evocation of Nijinsky was provided by having the most charismatic dancer of our own time—Rudolf Nureyev—on hand for some of the programs. His flamboyance and exciting risk-taking was not in demand this time, but he was impressive in what he "Sylphides" to the neo-classicism, with deadpan humor, of Apollo to the complete dancing actor of his moving Petrushka.

Although this triple-header was a tour-de-force for Nureyev, he blended satisfyingly into the rejuvenated style of the company as a whole. Nollé Pontouls was particularly satisfying as Terpsichore in the Balanchine-Stravinsky work, while in "Petrouchka," Jean Guizerix was a vital counterweight to the title part as the Moor, although Jacqueline Rayet, as the object of their affections, never really seemed to come to life.

The Opéra closes for three months after the Jan. 1 performance to reopen in April with the inauguration of the Rolf Liebermann administration. Its opening productions planned are Mozart's "Marriage of Figaro," conducted by Georg Solti, and Gluck's "Orphée."

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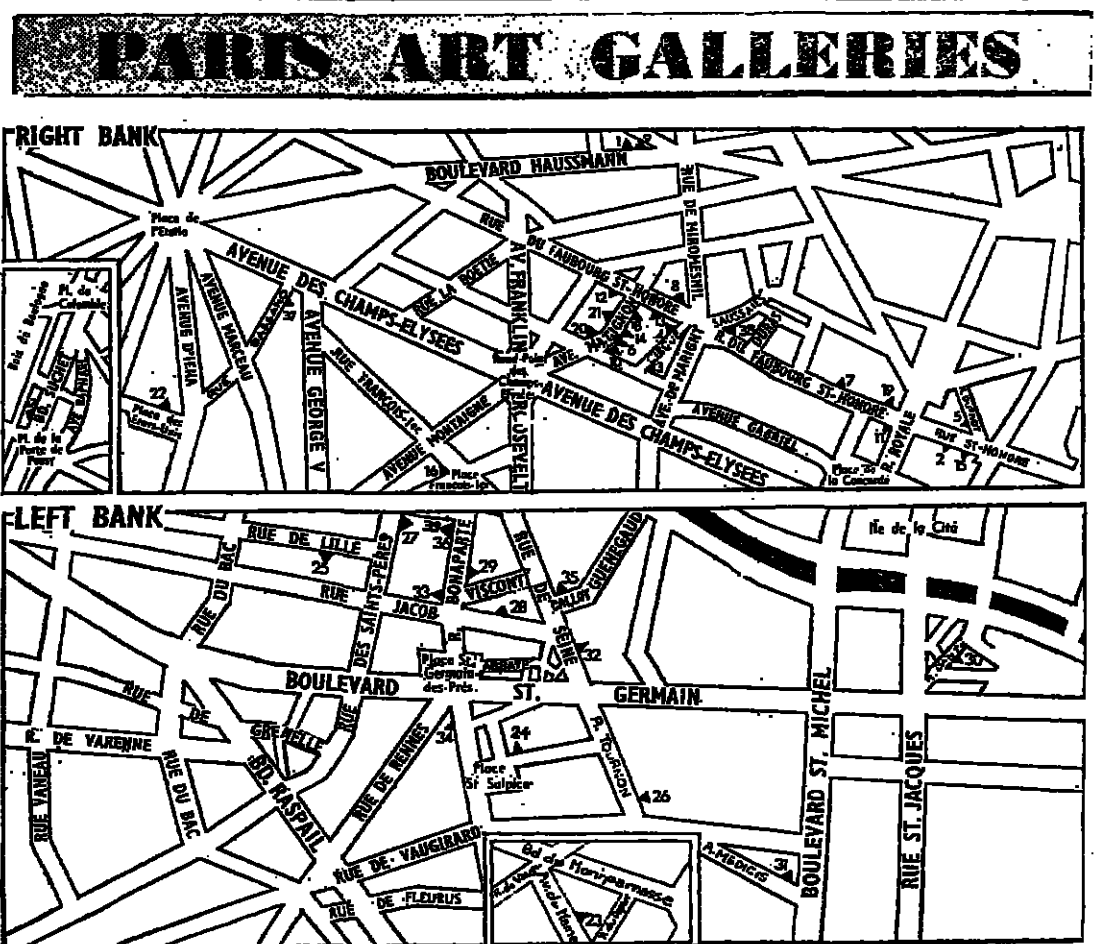
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Japan to Pay \$780 Million For BP Unit

Deal Is Major Shift In Nation's Oil Policy

TOKYO, Dec. 26 (AP-DJ).—British Petroleum and Overseas Petroleum Corp. (OPCO) signed an agreement here tonight under which the Japanese will acquire a 30 percent interest in Abu Dhabi Marine Areas for \$780 million.

BP will receive \$180 million before the end of the year and the remainder in three or four installments over a three-year period.

Toshio Shimada, president of government-owned Petroleum Development Corp., told a press conference that the transaction, which will be largely government financed, represents a major shift in the country's oil development policy.

New Policy
Previously, the government had chosen to spend relatively small amounts of money helping to finance Japanese oil exploration efforts in Indonesia, Latin America, Africa and other areas. Most of these developments have been slow in bearing fruit and Japanese inexperience in the sophisticated field of offshore oil exploration resulted in a few notable fiascos.

The new policy is to buy into developments where commercial production is already assured, Mr. Shimada said.

Political leaders have frequently said in the course of the past year that a portion of Japan's huge reserves of foreign currency would be used to secure stable supplies of oil. At present, the country relies almost entirely on major U.S., British and French-owned companies for its petroleum requirements.

Officials told the press conference a new company will be established, probably in February, to take over Japan's newly acquired interest in Abu Dhabi Marine Areas. They said the new company will probably be owned 70 percent by the government, as represented by Petroleum Development Corp. and the Japan Export-Import Bank, and 30 percent by private interests.

The private side will include OPCO and companies belonging to the Mitsui and Daiichi groups. OPCO itself is equally owned by 30 major Japanese concerns including steel and electric power companies. In short, officials said, the purchase is "a national project."

The agreement calls for BP to transfer 45 percent of its two-thirds interest in Abu Dhabi Marine Areas to OPCO on Jan. 1. The remaining third is owned by Cie. Française des Pétroles.

The agreement also provides for the Japanese to purchase oil produced by the Persian Gulf concern in proportion to their ownership ratio. Officials said the first shipment to Japan of Japanese-owned oil from Abu Dhabi Marine Areas is expected in six to seven months.

In London, BP said oil production from Abu Dhabi Marine Areas' two fields is currently running at some 500,000 barrels a day and added that future production could reach an estimated 3 million barrels per day.

Qatar Agrees With Oil Share Pact, but Seeks Higher Price

DOHA, Qatar, Dec. 26 (AP-DJ).

Qatar agrees in principle to the oil participation agreement reached last week by some oil-producing and oil-consuming countries, but wants more negotiations with the petroleum companies about prices, Sheikh Abdel Aziz bin Khalifa, Qatar's Minister of Finance and Petroleum, said today.

Negotiations are to be resumed here early next year with representatives of companies that are producing oil in the sheikhdom, he said.

"I'm sure we will come to an agreement," Sheikh Khalifa said. The minister, who graduated last June from Northern Indiana University, is a son of the ruling sheikh in Qatar.

Despite the delay in signing the participation agreement, Qatar will take a 25 percent equity in the producing oil companies here effective Jan. 1, he said.

Compensation will be according to terms of the master agreement signed last Thursday by Saudi Arabia and Abu Dhabi and representatives of oil companies. He declined to estimate the compensation.

Two oil-producing subsidiaries are involved, Qatar Petroleum Co. and Shell Co. of Qatar. Qatar Petroleum Co., which is owned by the Royal Dutch-Shell Group, Cie. Française des Pétroles, British Petroleum and Near East Development Corp., each with a 23.75 percent interest, with a 5 percent stake. Near East is jointly owned by Exxon Corp. and Mobil Oil Corp. Qatar Petroleum is averaging 240,000 barrels a day.

Shell, a Shell Group subsidiary, will average about the same in 1972, Oil Ministry officials said.

FINANCIAL NEWS AND NOTES

U.S. Firms to Build 8 Supertankers

Two U.S. shipbuilders have received letters of intent to build eight supertankers valued at more than \$780 million. Todd Shipyards is to build six oil tankers valued at \$70 million for a subsidiary of Burmah Oil of London. Newport News Shipbuilding & Dry Dock, a Tennessee Inc. unit, received a letter of intent from National Gas Pipeline to build two gas carriers. National Gas Pipeline says that the "best estimate of the price of the two ships is approximately \$194 million." Each of the new tankers Todd is to build would be 380,000 deadweight tons—too large to serve any present U.S. commercial port. So Burmah plans to build a terminal in the Bahamas, from which point smaller tankers could ship oil to the United States. Todd will also have to build a new shipbuilding yard to construct tankers of this size.

U.S. Auto Sales Rise Sharply

U.S. auto makers sold about 387,000 cars in mid-December, up sharply from 180,727 sold in last year's period and a record mid-December. The total figure is estimated because Ford and Chrysler will not be able to release exact totals until Jan. 3. But industry analysts believe estimates by Ford and Chrysler are good enough so that the indicated record will stand. The estimated 387,000 car sales during the nine selling days between Dec. 11 and Dec. 20 is about 2.4 percent higher than the record set in mid-December 1968. General Motors and American Motors, reporting final figures, said their car sales were

up 20.5 and 6.9 percent, respectively, from 1971 sales. AMC said its year-to-date total passed 300,000 for the first time in seven years.

Atlantic Richfield Hits Oil

Atlantic Richfield has discovered oil in an exploratory well offshore Indonesia in the Java Sea, about 80 miles southeast of its production operations in the Ardjuna field. The new well flowed crude oil on a test rate of over 2,000 barrels a day. Further drilling is needed to fully evaluate the area around the well, Arco says. It is operator of the well for a group of U.S. firms which hold a production-sharing contract with Pertamina, the Indonesian state-owned oil company. Participants in the group include units of Natome, Reading & Bates Offshore Drilling Co. and certain units of Tidewater Marine Service Inc.

Mountain Fuel Supply Finds Gas

Mountain Fuel Supply reports a well in southwestern Wyoming produced "significant" 4.65 million cubic feet a day—flow of natural gas during a 118 minute drill stem test. The well also encountered commercial quantities of oil, the company says. However, it cautions that while the results of the tests have been encouraging, the full economic significance could not be determined until more information can be obtained. Ownership in the discovery well, two offset wells and 13,700 acres of pooled acreage is shared 41.25 percent each by Champlin Petroleum Co., a subsidiary of Union Pacific Corp., and Mountain Fuel. The remaining 17.50 percent is owned by Amoco Production Co.

Do Not Oppose Multinational Firms

Big Business Turns Labor Multinational

By Clyde H. Farnsworth

PARIS, Dec. 26 (NYT).—The internationalization of big business has, in a curious return of things, strengthened the internationalism of labor," says Dan Gallin, general secretary of the Food and Allied Workers Federation.

Charles Levinson, whose International Federation of Chemical and General Workers has just forced Michelin, the giant French tire manufacturer, to negotiate directly with strikers for the first time, comments that "multinational corporations, like govern-

ments, are motivated not by the power of reason but by reasons of power."

"The unions are far from having the power to close a multinational corporation, and they say that this is not even their aim. 'We're not opposed to the multinationals per se,'" says Laurent Enckell, an economist and strategist for the food workers' federation. That would be silly. In many countries they pay the best wages."

But Mr. Enckell goes on to cite "the feeling of powerlessness that workers have when confronted

by the mobility and strength of the multinationals."

"I'll admit that unions are not the most outward-looking organizations, but I think the main pressure for what we're doing comes from the rank and file because of this feeling of powerlessness," he says.

The unions have not yet had to meet the test of worker reaction to a long walkout in one country in support of workers in another country. But the threat of sympathy strikes, even though they are illegal in most countries of Europe, is something a company now has to take seriously.

"No matter what the dispute is, management in our sector has to consider taking on the whole of the ICF," Mr. Levinson said. The "whole" is the 116 unions in 45 countries that are affiliates of the chemical workers' federation.

Multinational union action has entered thus far on organizing financial support for strikers in a country, preventing companies from increasing overtime schedules at other plants and transferring output to compensate for strike-lost production and conducting propaganda campaigns against companies that fail to meet certain standards in treatment of workers.

"We can't close a company down," Mr. Levinson says, "but we can sure pick it at it." Mr. Levinson, a Canadian-born, Sorbonne-trained economist; Mr. Gallin, Romanian-born and educated in the United States, and Dan Benedict, a former General Electric lab operator in Schenectady, N. Y., and now assistant general secretary of the International Metal Workers Federation, are the men most closely identified with the multinational union movement.

Their Geneva-based Federation of Chemical, Food and Metal Workers—founded as loosely organized and somewhat lethargic international coordination bodies much earlier in the century—has become a rather high-powered center in the war against the multinational companies.

The first step has been the organization of worker councils for individual multinational companies, an idea that originated with the late Walter Reuther while he was president of the United Auto Workers.

Councils have been set up for Nestle, General Motors, Michelin, Dunlop-Pirelli, W. R. Grace, International Telephone and scores of other companies. The idea is to dissect a company's labor relations, find out how they can be improved and determine where the pressure can be applied.

The Nestle council, for example, has complained to management about a prospective plant opening in Greece, where union men have been killed, and has threatened to cut production in other countries if the decision is not rescinded.

He declined to disclose the extent of Kuwait's proven oil reserves. However, another oil industry source estimated the figure at around 80 billion barrels. Kuwait's failure to sign the participation agreement last week is primarily due to the structure of the government, he said, noting that any agreement such as the participation pact must be debated and recommended by parliament. "I don't see anything objectionable in the agreement," he explained, "but consideration by my government will take time."

"We are leveling our oil production rate for two reasons. First, to maintain our oil reserves as long as possible and, second, because we don't see any reason for turning our oil in the ground into money which may fluctuate downward in value. If we produce more oil we merely get more money which may go down in value, and the interest rates we draw on it do not compensate for the decline. So let us leave the oil in the ground until we want to sell it. The value of oil will not go down."

He declined to disclose the extent of Kuwait's proven oil reserves. However, another oil industry source estimated the figure at around 80 billion barrels. Kuwait's failure to sign the participation agreement last week is primarily due to the structure of the government, he said, noting that any agreement such as the participation pact must be debated and recommended by parliament. "I don't see anything objectionable in the agreement," he explained, "but consideration by my government will take time."

Major Banks In U.S. Raise Prime Rate

6 Percent Level Fast Sweeping the Industry

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 (AP).—A string of major commercial banks, including the country's third and fourth largest, followed the lead of two other big banks and boosted their prime lending rates today from 5 3/4 to 6 percent.

Chase Manhattan Bank, No. 3; Manufacturers Hanover Trust, No. 4; Chemical Bank and Marine Midland increased the cost of borrowing for their most credit-worthy customers in the face of the Nixon administration's campaign to control inflation by keeping the lid on bank interest rates.

"We are keenly aware of the federal government's desire to moderate upward rate pressures as a part of its effort to bring inflation under firmer control," a spokesman for Chase said.

"However, we believe that holding interest rates at levels which are out of line with the market generally would, over a period of time, cause distortions in the flow of credit, and contribute to the inflationary spiral by placing abnormally heavy demands on

changes in the prime rate are pegged to fluctuations in short-term interest rates in the money market and these have been rising sharply recently.

On Friday, First National City Bank, the second largest bank in the nation, and Mellon Bank of Pittsburgh, a major commercial bank, boosted their prime lending rates to 6 percent, citing higher short-term interest rates.

Both Citibank and Mellon use floating prime rates which are pegged to movements in money market rates. Today's increases are the first among banks which administer the key lending rate.

The 6 percent level is politically sensitive because that is what it was when President Nixon imposed the wage and price freeze in August 1971.

But bankers contend that they have little choice in what prime rate they post because they have no control over the price of their raw materials, money they must buy in the open market. They also argue that bank earnings have not shown much gain in the past two years.

Stock Prices Gain, Turnover Slows

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 (NYT).—Prices on the New York Stock Exchange moved narrowly in slow trading throughout today's session, firming slightly toward the close.

The Dow Jones industrial average advanced 2.49 to 1,006.70, closing at about its high for the day.

Trading was unusually slow. Volume fell to a light 11.12 million shares from 12.54 million Friday.

Interest generally was restrained by concern about Vietnam and normal year-end portfolio switching and tax selling.

The spreading increase in commercial banks' prime interest rate

also was viewed as a dampening influence.

Mountain Fuel Supply, the day's strongest feature, shot up 10 3/8 to 99 7/8 after it reported "significant" flows of natural gas during a test in Wyoming.

Skyline Corp., however, tumbled 14 7/8 to 32 5/8 after a delayed opening. Analysts said the stock's decline reflected investor disappointment with the company's second-quarter per share earnings of 33 cents against 41 cents a year earlier.

Horizon Corp., another soft spot, dropped 1 1/2 to 14 1/4. It reported sharply lower earnings for the second quarter and nine months ended Nov. 30.

IBM, the subject of some bullish press comment, added 1 1/4 to 391 3/4.

General Motors tacked on 1/8 to 78 3/8 after reporting a 23.1 percent increase in its daily selling rate during the middle third of December. Ford rose 1 3/4 to 77 1/4, while Chrysler climbed 1 1/2 to 39 1/4.

Todd Shipyards advanced 17/8 to 23, it has received a letter of intent for building six oil tankers valued at \$70 million.

Comsat fell 3/4 to 63 1/4. The government ruled Friday that American Telephone & Telegraph can compete for future U.S. communications satellite business if AT&T sells its 29 percent ownership in Comsat and gives up its three seats on the Comsat board.

AT&T stock gained 1/2 to 52 1/4. Fairmont Foods fell 3/4 to 13 1/4. It reported little change in third-quarter net profit.

Amex Prices Decline
Prices declined in quiet trading on the American Stock Exchange. The index dipped 0.04 to 26.31.

Champion Home Builders, the day's volume leader, fell 3/8 to 12 1/2. Less active Canadian Javelin which received some adverse comment in a published report, dipped 3/4 to 5 7/8.

Salvage Work at Intra Bank Appears to Have Succeeded

BEIRUT, Lebanon, Dec. 26 (NYT).—The salvage operation that has been under way for five years to stabilize Intra Bank, which collapsed in an international financial scandal in 1966, appears to have succeeded.

The annual report submitted to a meeting of stockholders last week by Lucien Dahdah, the chairman of Intra Investment Co., which was set up to straighten out the mess, showed that net assets have grown by \$22 million since 1970, reaching \$122 million.

In a major development, Intra Investment Co. has sold three prized lots of real estate on the Champs-Élysées in Paris to the governments of Kuwait, Qatar and Lebanon, which are major Intra stockholders, for about \$39 million.

Financed by Kuwait
With this sale, which is being financed by Kuwait's oil-rich government, Intra Investment has a strong working capital position for operating its far-flung investments as a holding company.

These include Middle East Airlines, the Lebanon-based carrier that is the major Mideast air transport company, and Chantiers Navals de La Ciotat, France's second largest shipyard, which Intra almost lost to a French group earlier this year.

Middle East Airlines has reported \$25 million net earnings for last year's operations. La Ciotat has shipbuilding orders totaling more than \$500 million, including

liquid natural gas tankers for shipping Algerian gas to the East Coast of the United States.

Morgan Guaranty Seeks Share
Intra Investment's major banking enterprise, Al Mashrek Bank here, is in an advanced stage of negotiation with Morgan Guaranty of New York, which is seeking to acquire a 40 percent equity in the bank and a management contract as a foothold for Middle East operations.

These moves form part of the rehabilitation program that has been carried forward with Edder, Peabody, the New York investment bank, acting as financial and managerial consultant under a plan designed to avoid liquidation.

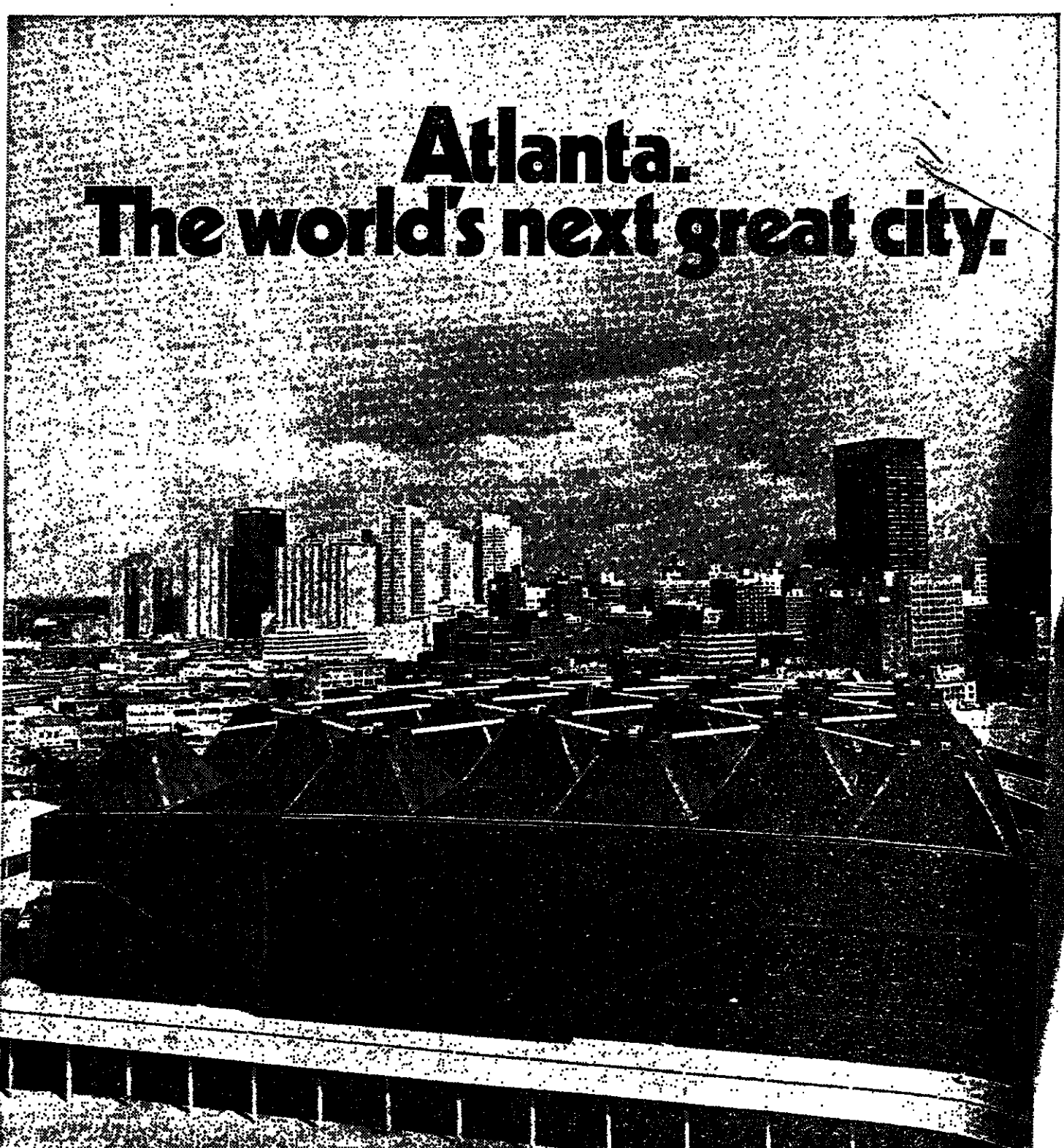
"If everything had been sold off, Intra would have got about 10 cents on the dollar for its assets," said a Lebanese financial source. As it is now, the 1,200 major creditors stand a chance of seeing the 11.2 million Intra Investment shares which they hold eventually go on the market. Each share has a nominal value of 25 Lebanese pounds, or \$8.33.

But the big holders of Intra Investment shares, which are the governments of Kuwait (and individual wealthy Kuwaitis), Qatar, Lebanon and the United States, are not pressing for cash. The U.S. interest is held by the Commodity Credit Corp., which sold George Beidas, the late founder of Intra Bank, \$23 million in wheat before the bank collapsed.

Markets to Shut, Mourn Truman

NEW YORK, Dec. 26 (Reuters).—The New York and American Stock Exchanges will close Thursday, Dec. 28, the national day of mourning for the late President Harry S. Truman.

Most other domestic financial and commodity markets will also observe the national day of mourning.



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THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

\$10-Billion Goal Set for Exports

Korea's epoch-making export increase is often cited as a yardstick for measuring her high rate of economic growth.

In fact, the phenomenal export growth enabled Korea to set her export goal for 1980 at \$10,000 million.

Korea's exports, which stood at a mere \$43 million in 1961, have since been increasing at an average annual rate of 41 percent. The export volume soon exceeded \$100 million; and in 1971, the actual export performance surpassed the \$1,350 million target. Ninety percent of this year's \$1,875 million was attained by the end of October.

As a result, the contribution of commodity exports to the GNP rose to 12.9 percent in 1971 from two percent in 1962, the initial year of the First Five-Year Economic Development Plan.

The export volume in 1971 showed an increase of more than 31 times over the 1961 level.

Korea's export items in 1962 numbered only 22, but 1972 saw the number increase to 894 items exported to 110 foreign countries.

The early tendency toward less profitable export of primary products has been reversed with the trend to export manufactured items.

Until 1961, Korean export commodities mostly consisted of primary products such as agricultural, mineral and marine items and in 1962, the share of manufactured goods was no more than 27 percent of the total exports.

Since 1963, however, the share of manufactured goods edged ahead of that of primary products, taking up 51.7 percent of the year's total exports. By 1971, it had jumped to 86 percent, and is expected to reach 88 percent this year.

In comparison, the growth rate of primary product exports averaged 20.5 percent a year in the past decade. But the export of manufactured goods increased at an average annual rate of 76.4 percent.

Korea has thus been achieving a rapid shift from the single-type export pattern common to developing countries into a diversified one characteristic of developed countries.

Among the major export commodities, garments enjoyed the greatest increase, from \$11.6 million in 1962 to \$221.3 million in 1971, also registering as the highest dollar earner of any export category that year.

Garments were followed by plywood, with exports of \$138.7 million. Other major dollar earners in 1971 were electronic products with \$88.6 million, sweaters with \$83.8 million, fabrics with \$74.5 million, cotton fabrics with \$72 million, textiles with \$64 million, tuna with \$55.1 million and raw silk with \$45 million.

Based on her successful performance in exports, Korea has set her export goal for 1980 at \$10,000 million, and at the same time decided to rev up the per capita gross national product (GNP) to \$1,000 by 1981.

To achieve the 1980 export goal, Korea has to increase its annual export volume by an average of 25 percent. Export authorities are concerned to maintain that the 25 percent increase is "not unreasonable in view of our successful performance in exports."

To back up the long-term export promotion program, a total of \$4,500 million will be appropriated over the next five years. The main emphasis will be on the development of export-oriented industry.

In the original program, exports envisioned for 1980 are estimated at \$9,300 million, based on an estimated 16.6 percent export growth rate during the period.

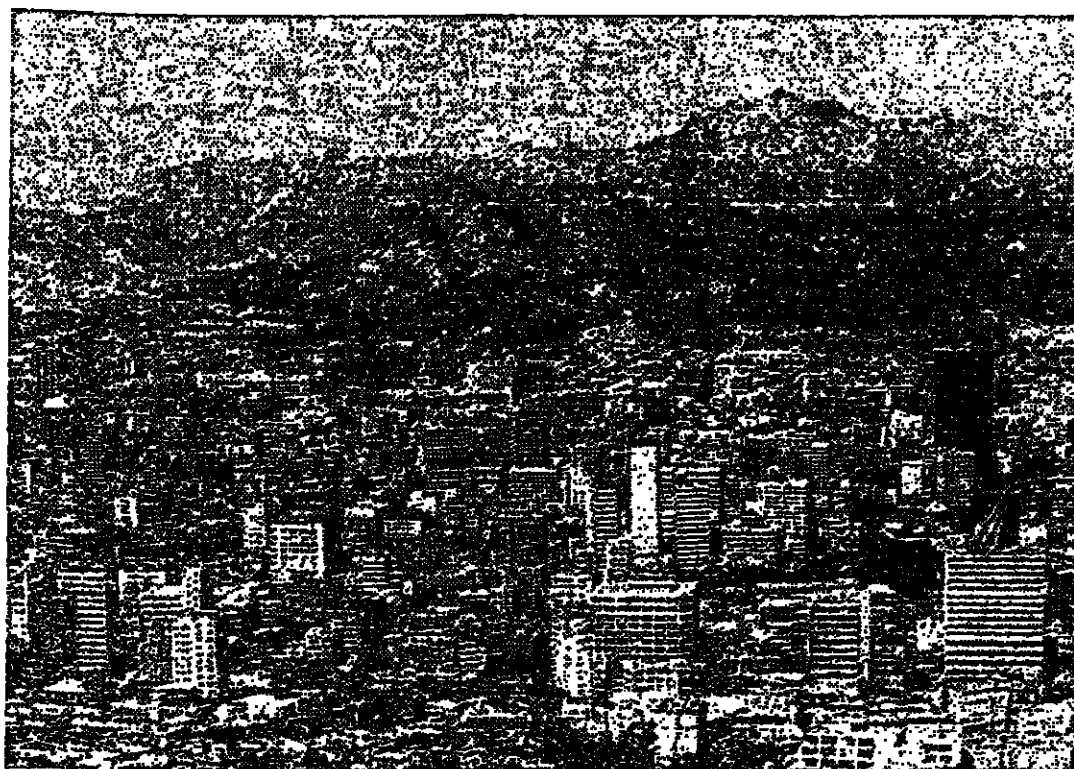
Heavy industrial sectors which Korea plans to orient toward export include electronics, shipbuilding, steel products and machinery. The sharp increase of heavy industrial products is inevitable to meet the 1980 export target because such products are much higher dollar earners than light industry products.

According to the long-term promotion plan, exports of heavy industrial products will reach \$6,000 million, a sum accounting for about 60 percent of the total annual exports for 1980.

The electronics industry, now in full swing in Korea, is likely to become a promising export-oriented industry. Korea has abundant labor power, which, if fully trained, can be utilized for such labor-intensive industry.

Korea has exported \$100 million worth of electronic products as of the end of October, far surpassing the original target of \$60 million for 1972. The export volume of electronic products was set at \$1,000 million in 1980.

At the same time, overseas markets in Europe and Africa will be cultivated much more intensively by means of trade missions and resident trade centers staffed with expert personnel. These markets will be diversified to lessen the present over-dependence upon the United States and Japan as trading partners, which together presently account for about 70 percent of Korean sales.



THE CAPITAL—Panoramic view of Seoul, the home of six million citizens.

A Land in Transformation From Agriculture to Industry

Korea is now rapidly being transformed from an impoverished agricultural land into a bustling industrial society.

Forests of tall buildings are daily changing the skyline of its cities, where motor traffic is overflowing. Clusters of modern factories are springing up in industrial zones along the coasts and around industrial cities, which are being connected with one another by newly built super-highways crisscrossing the country.

The nation has thus almost completely shaken off the inertia of its long history of relative inactivity, as well as the bitter aftermath of the devastating Korean War.

This force of change in the Korean economic landscape gained new vigor in the early sixties, when the First Five-Year Development Plan was set in motion. Since then, the Korean economy has kept growing almost unflinching at a rate of around 10 percent each year, with the manufacturing industry on a particularly steep ascent.

Thus the Korean economy expanded by about 3.3 times during the decade which ended in 1971.

Per capita gross national product rose from below \$100 to a little over \$250 between 1961 and 1971.

Even more spectacular has been the expansion in exports, which rose from a mere \$40 million in 1961 to \$1,352 million in 1971. The rising exports have been achieved mainly by increased sales abroad of manufactured goods, paralleling the rapid pace of industrialization.

When the First Five-Year Plan was launched in 1962, the Korean economy had barely recovered from the destruction of the Korean War and was slowly groping its way toward national development. With agriculture accounting for nearly 50 percent of its economy, Korea was only beginning to be exposed to the modern concept of industrialization.

The First Plan was intended to give more clear-cut targets for progress of the emergent economy, and then to mobilize resources to accomplish them. It was a rather bold experiment in the sense that it called for a forced march through little-charted territory.

At the beginning, the First Plan was beset by various difficulties, including inflation, depletion of hard currency reserves and a setback in industrial production. In the end, however, the First Plan wound up in 1966 achieving an average annual growth rate of 8.3 percent, whereas five percent was the average for the previous period. And the actual growth attained under the First Plan exceeded the originally projected 7.1 percent.

During the period of the First Plan, agricultural production increased markedly and a strong upsurge in exports began. The economic infrastructure was strengthened considerably, and a number of new industries were beginning to be developed.

The development momentum generated under the First Plan was greatly intensified under the Second Five-Year Plan (1967-71), leading to a period of "high economic growth."

With the economy growing at an unprecedented average annual rate of 11.4 percent, Korea fairly established itself as a new industrial center in Asia. Sharp expansion in many kinds of manufacturing industry highlighted the development under the Second Plan.

Between 1965 and 1970, industrial production increased more than threefold. Some samples of production increase during the period are:

Food processing, up 300 percent; textiles, up 400 percent; wood products, up 420 percent; paper and paper products, up 420 percent; base metals, up 250 percent; metal products, up 250 percent; machinery, up 170 percent; electrical machinery, up 340 percent and transport equipment, up 270 percent.

Expansion in overall industrial production ran far ahead of schedule under the Second Plan, as it did to a lesser degree under the previous Five-Year Plan. This was the major cause for the actual growth obtained under the Second Plan, surpassing the originally projected seven percent a year.

Exports also continued to rise rapidly under the Second Plan. But the rate of growth in agriculture slowed to under three percent. The unfavorable trend in agricultural development was caused partly by droughts in 1968 and 1969. More basically, however, it was attributable to a relatively low level of investment in the agricultural sector.

The Third Five-Year Plan was started at the beginning of 1973 with the aim of advancing the country to the "upper ranks of semi-developed countries." On the basis of accomplishments under the Second Plan, there arose an increasing confidence about the economic capabilities of the nation.

In fact, enthusiasm for economic development became so great during the period of the Second Plan that there developed a tendency for overheating the economy. Therefore, the Government instituted a tightened fiscal and monetary policy in carrying out the Third Plan in order to achieve "development without inflation."

As part of the new policy, the Government on August 3, 1972, declared a moratorium on private debts incurred by business concerns. This was intended to cure the long-standing ill of the economy due to the widespread use of high-interest loans in financing business activities, which had been putting a heavy burden of usury on Korean industry.

Loans on the private financial market bear interest at a monthly rate of three to six percent (36 to 72 percent per annum). In the face of inadequate availability of bank loans, practically all Korean business companies had been resorting to usurious borrowings.

The Third Plan, now in its first year of implementation, has three important goals: modernization of agriculture, vigorous development of heavy industries,

and continued rapid expansion of exports.

Renewed emphasis is placed on agricultural development because the agricultural sector has tended to lag behind the overall economic progress, leading to a widening income gap for the rural populace and a chronic food deficit for the nation. In conjunction with the Third Plan, the country has set in motion a Saemaul (New Community) Movement aimed to work a fundamental change in rural life.

This is intended to encourage a spirit of self-help, diligence and cooperation among farmers and fishermen, while sharply increasing capital and technical inputs to the agricultural sector.

In the effort for greater industrialization, petrochemical complexes have been constructed and Korea's first integrated steel mill is nearing completion. Also, much emphasis is laid on the development of machine manufacturing, electronics industry and shipbuilding.

As the result of continuing export expansion, Korea achieved a small trade surplus in 1972—for the first time since the end of World War II. This has strengthened the hope of resolving the country's problem of chronic balance of payment deficit in the not-so-distant future.

The Third Plan envisions an average annual growth of 8.6 percent. Indications are that the growth projection will be fulfilled without much difficulty.

With its past and current economic performance in mind, Korea has just set up a set of ambitious long-term economic targets designed to complete its advancement towards the forefront of semi-advanced nations.

The long-term projections call for a GNP of \$32.2 billion by 1981—compared with \$8 billion attained in 1971. In 1981, per capita national income would approximate \$1,000, and the country's exports would reach \$10 billion.

And these targets are not mere wishful thinking; they can be reached if only the current rates of progress are maintained.

Barring a major unpredictable adverse turn of events the decade of the 1970s will almost certainly witness even more profound improvement in the Korean economic scene than the near miracle that actually happened in the past 10 years.

Philosophy of a Nation-Builder

Korea's President Park Chung Hee, a farm boy born in 1917, educated as a school teacher and later trained for the career of military officer, which he pursued for fifteen years, does not pretend to be a scholarly specialist.

However, any modern leader of truly national stature must be a thinker as well as a doer—especially when he conceives his task on the scale indicated by the title of one of the President's major articles: "Rebuilding a Nation."

Thus, although President Park may not be a philosopher in the narrow academic sense, he has a definite, decisive philosophy, arrived at through his study of Korean and world history as well as practical observation and experience over a long, varied career.

This philosophy—whether expressed in words or actions and policies—is what has given him the insight, determination, and flexibility necessary to become an outstanding national leader, respected even by his opponents; a politician who wins elections without personal glamour, but through an irrefutable record of achievement—altogether the most decisive figure in Korea's 20th century history, if not indeed a great deal longer than that.

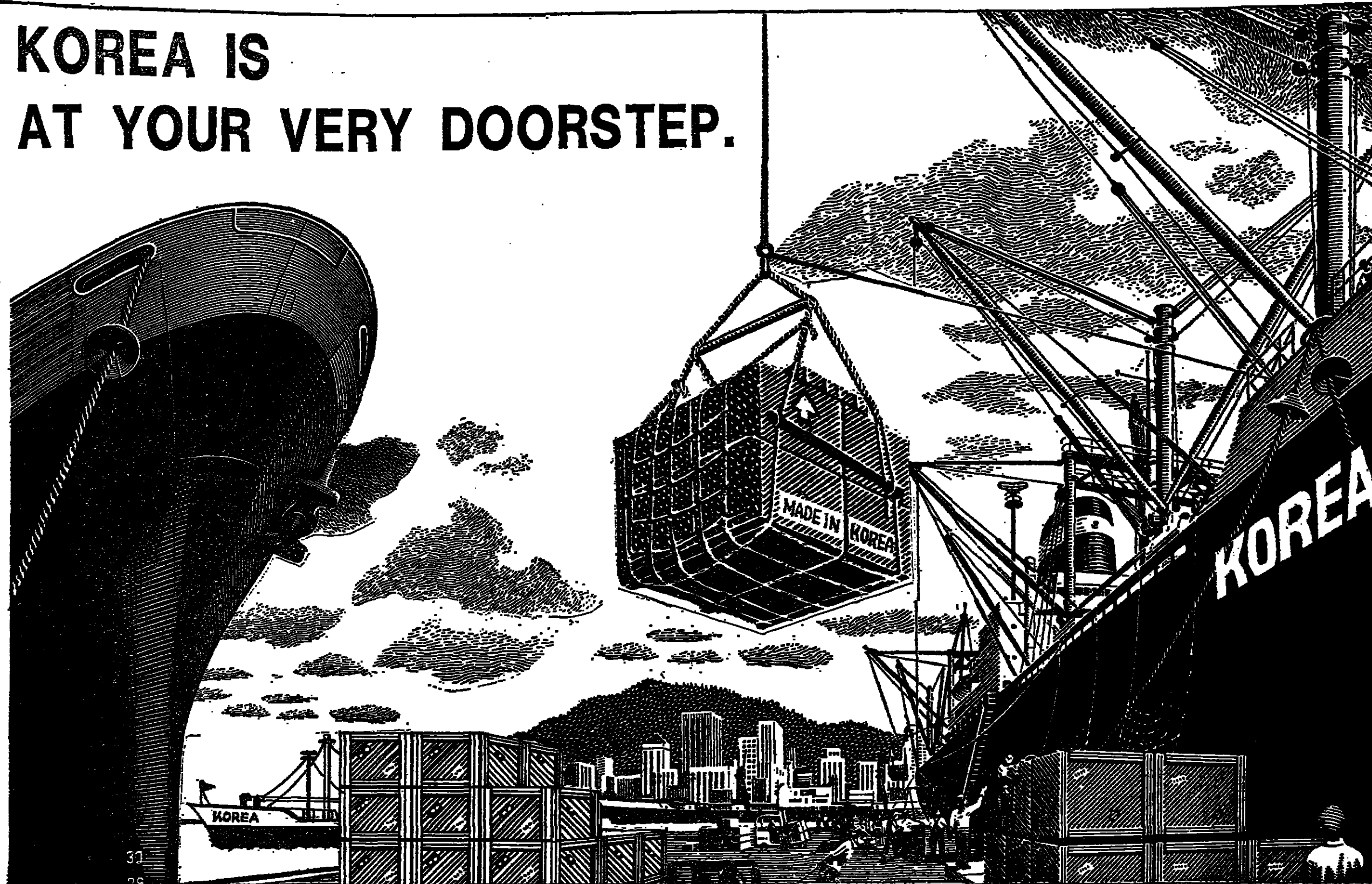
This philosophy, though perhaps in part intuitive and non-verbal, has been reflected by President Park in several books, articles, and published speeches over the past decade, giving a clue as to how a boy from a simple farming family has risen to become the architect who has in truth rebuilt his nation.

The President's philosophy is firmly rooted in keen historical analysis. He notes that due to Korea's geographical location, the country has suffered nine major invasions in the past 2,000 years, as well as innumerable lesser incursions, plus direct or indirect foreign domination since the mid-nineteenth century.

"It might be surmised," he observes, "that such frequent invasions would have ended the nation's existence, or at least eroded its national spirit, language and culture. Yet the survivors maintained our nationalistic instinct in terms of both racial homogeneity and cultural uniqueness. . . . In fact, the ordeals of Korea served as a stimulus for its people developed marvelous powers of recuperation. . . . Cultural creativity and native inventiveness were surely major factors in Korea's stubborn survival. The people could always derive consolation and pride from their extraordinary, living heritage."

"Korea was not successful in its early attempts at modernization," he writes. After a 35-year period of loss of independence, individualism and democracy—brought to Korea along with Western civilization after 1945, were accepted blindly by Koreans, who were grateful for the liberation. . . . These new ideologies began to exert a far-reaching influence on our institutions and philosophy. A tendency arose to shift the blame for our national humiliation to the traditional culture. . . . Korea along with Western civilization after 1945, were accepted blindly by Koreans, who were grateful for the liberation. . . . These new ideologies began to exert a far-reaching influence on our institutions and philosophy. A tendency arose to shift the blame for our national humiliation to the traditional culture. . . . Korea along with Western civilization after 1945, were accepted blindly by Koreans, who were grateful for the liberation. . . . 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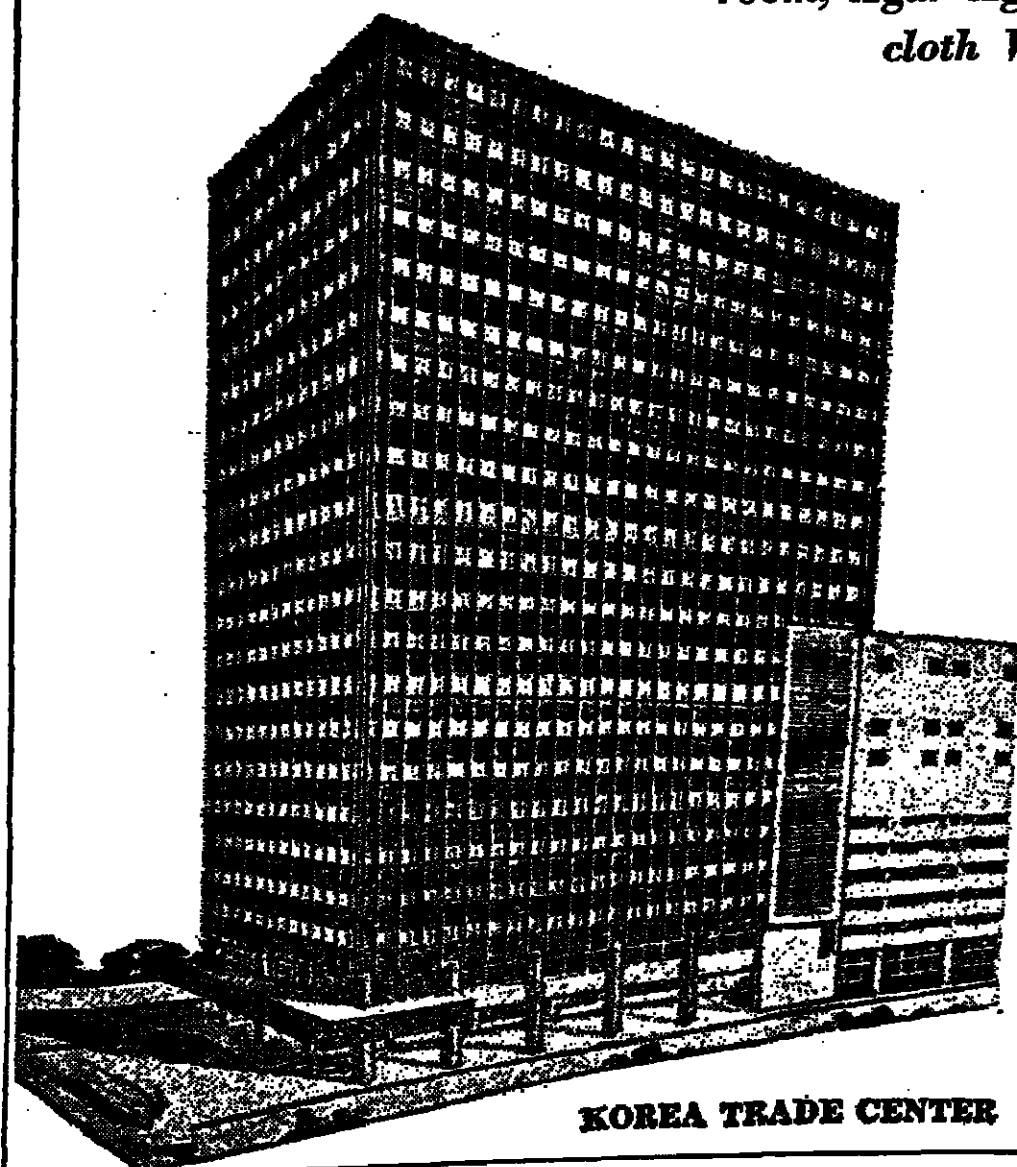


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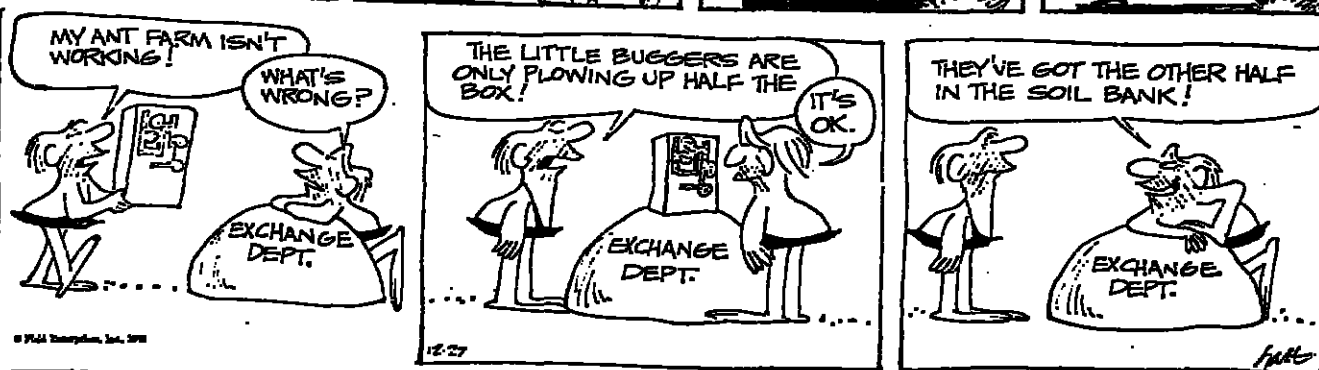
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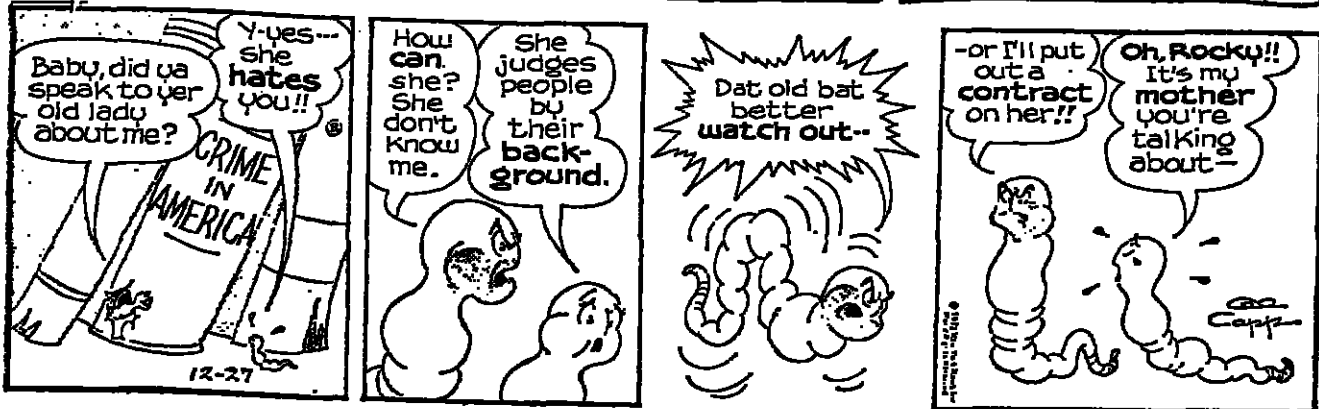
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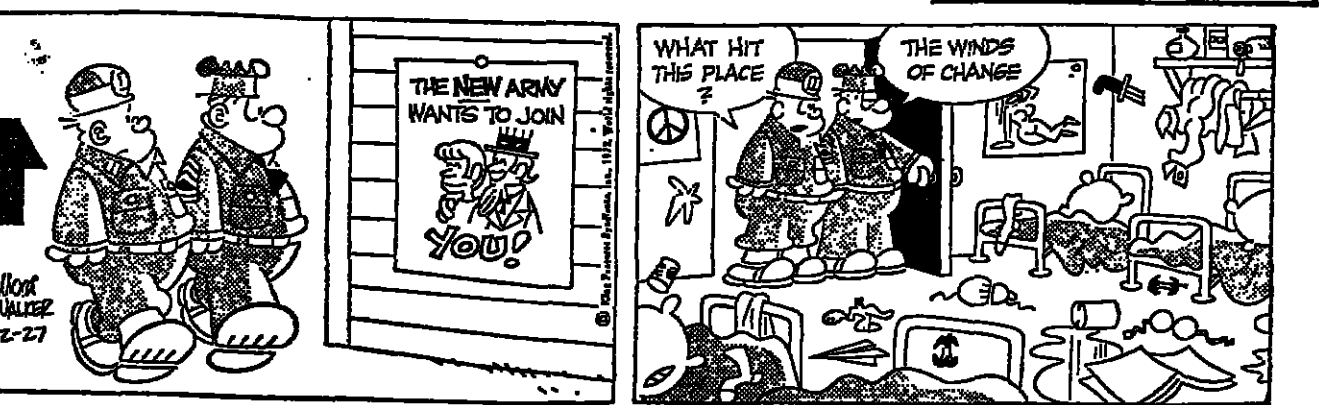
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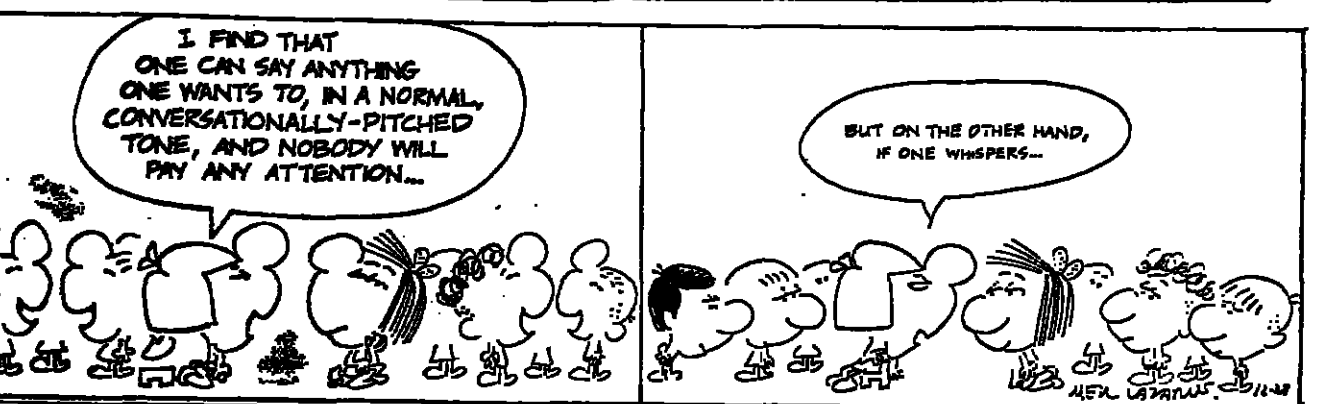
L.I.L. ABNER



BEETLE BAILEY



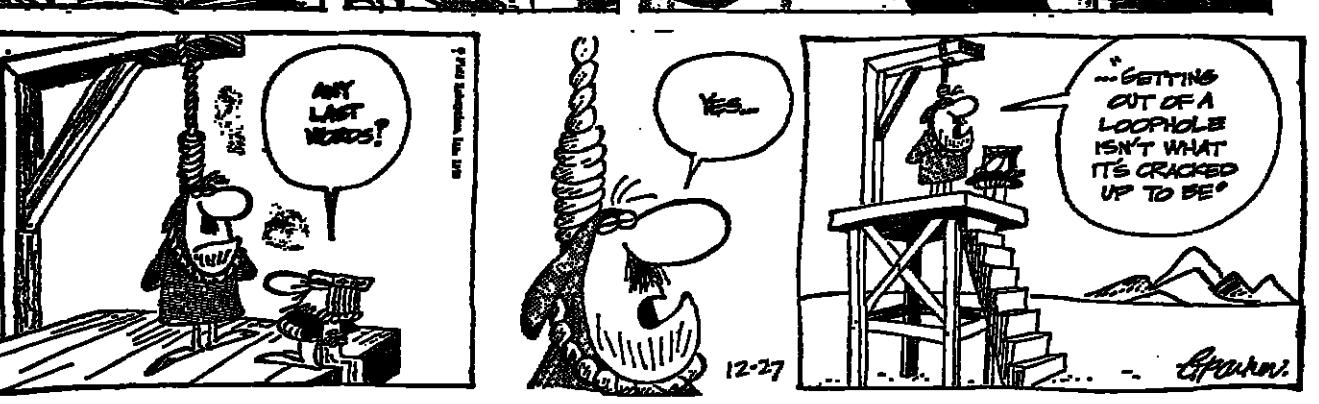
MISS PEACH



BUZZ SAWYER



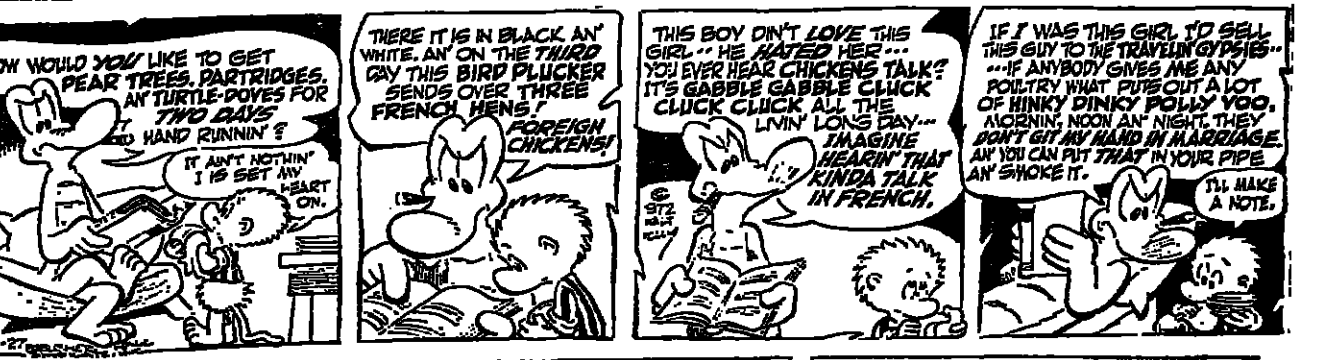
WIZARD OF ID



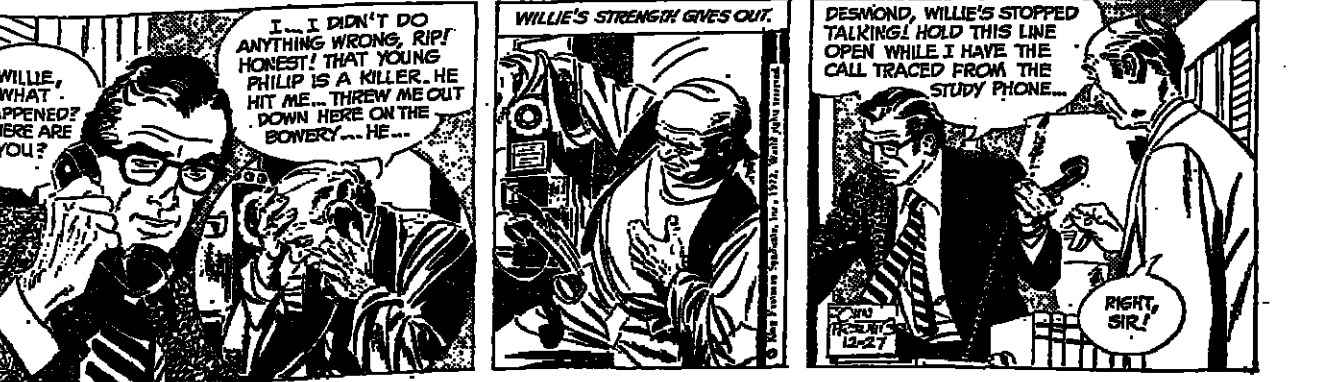
REX MORGAN M.D.



POGO



RIP KIRBY



BLONDIE



BRIDGE

By Alan Truscott

Players who reject the lead of their partner's suit to attack a shaky suit of their own are often a pleasure to play against. On the diagramed deal South reached a no-trump game that would have had no chance, but West gave him some help at the first trick.

East's opening bid of one spade was a surprising choice. West scraped up a raise to two spades, lacking the values for any response. North took a chance and bid three clubs, and South breathed hard and tried three no-trump.

West had visions of establishing his diamonds and led that suit, giving South a vital trick. The declarer had an interesting planning problem after winning the first trick with the diamond jack. He knew that all the missing high cards were on his right, with the possible exception of the heart jack. And he knew that it was hopeless to attempt to establish clubs. The defense would surely take two clubs and three hearts to defeat him by a trick. He therefore played to establish an eighth trick in hearts, with good prospects of a squeeze-end-play to produce the ninth.

A heart was led at trick two, and East indulged in a mild falsecard by winning the ten with the ace. A diamond was returned, won with the king in dummy, and another heart was led. East took the queen with the king

NORTH
♠—
♥—
♦—
♣—
WEST
♠—
♥—
♦—
♣—
EAST
♠—
♥—
♦—
♣—

The diamond ace was now due to squeeze East in a most unusual way. East was forced to keep his spades and therefore had to come down to two clubs. Now a club lead to the queen gave East the unpleasant choice between allowing dummy's clubs to take tricks, or ducking, and submitting to a throw-in for a spade lead at the 12th trick.

NORTH
♠—
♥—
♦—
♣—
WEST
♠—
♥—
♦—
♣—
EAST
♠—
♥—
♦—
♣—

Both sides were vulnerable.
The bidding:
East South West North
1 ♠ Pass 2 ♠ 3 ♠
Pass 3 N.T. Pass Pass
West led the diamond four.

DENNIS THE MENACE



WE KNOW YOU CAN TALK... LET'S HEAR WHAT THE DOLL HAS TO SAY!

JUMBLE

Unscramble these four Jumbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

LITTE
NOAGY
INGADE
DOMBEY

Print the SURPRISE ANSWER here

BOOKS

TALLULAH

By Brendan Gill. Illustrated. Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 287 pp. \$25.

Reviewed by Peter Andrews

THE people who gave that wonderful party for Cole Porter last year are back again this holiday season to give another one for Tallulah Bankhead. Brendan Gill has again written the text. Holt, Rinehart & Winston has published it in the same format, at the same \$25 price. But this time the party is a bust. For one thing, in spite of an extended narrative and many illustrations, the guest of honor never really shows up. Which is just like Tallulah. As Brooks Atkinson once wrote, she almost always "leaves her best performances offstage."

Mr. Gill and the team who produced "Tallulah" have created a book that does not grow on you as much as it gnaws at you. We do get to see Tallulah—first as a young gutsy actress (never really beautiful but always more interesting than most), then as a star (which she knew how to be better than anyone), and then near the end, when the booze finally got to her. The problem, however, is that no matter how a book feels or looks, sooner or later you have to read it. And that's where the real trouble begins. The way has been left open for Gill to write a compelling story of an American pop culture heroine. Instead, he has ground out a sort of up-to-date Photoplay Magazine report in a jumbled forest of exclamation points—with about as much insight as Louella Parsons used when she came and cried on her shoulder.

Miss Bankhead's career has been one of the lesser puzzles of the American theater. Did she squander a great talent, or spend a lifetime working like hell to polish up a very minor one? Mr. Gill seems unable to resolve this question in his own mind. He starts out by declaring passionately for the first proposition and then proceeds to establish the latter more devastatingly than Tallulah ever did in the all but endless series of turkey turkeys she rode into town during her 40-year career.

He tells us of her great talent—and then writes, "nearly the whole range of classical Greek, Elizabethan, Restoration and 18th-century English drama were closed to her," which is a pretty good start at defining limited theatrical abilities. (Richard Chamberlain can play Hamlet, for heaven's sake!) He tells us that Tallulah was an authentic original—and then describes her, in trying out for the London company of "Rain," she sailed all the way across the Atlantic just to copy Jeanne Eagles's performance. Although he has been a high-powered drama critic for The New Yorker for several years, Gill's ignorance of the craft of the theater seems absolute. He is flabbergasted that Tallulah could memorize a supporting role within four days, something any half-way competent performer could do. When she finally got to do "Rain" in a New York revival and bombed, he explains it by saying that American audiences don't like revivals, and

Peter Andrews is a freelance journalist and critic who specializes in theater reporting.
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CROSSWORD

By Will Weng

- ACROSS
1 Mutt's friend
3 Gyrated
5 Effete
14 Car part
15 Use a towel
16 Phobia
17 Brunch
18 Nerve-cell
19 Demode
20 Colonial
23 U. S. missile
24 Gas: Prefix
25 Informal
26 Plot-tender
33 Asian capital
34 After: Prefix
35 Major
36 Above, in poetry
37 Marshall of the media books
40 Tipple
41 German port
43 Well-ventilated
44 White poplar
46 Raised in esteem
48 Rink wear
49 Commotion
50 Pintado fish
51 Place for going nowhere
57 Plane feature
58 Algerian port
59 Exam
61 Muscat native
62 Red pigment
63 Impulse
64 Flies
65 Measure of area: Abbr.
66 Between sum and fui
DOWN
1 Pack
2 Reno leavers
3 Commotion
4 Cats
5 Elegant
6 Frankish
7 Preposition
8 Me., VT., etc.
9 Kidded
10 Redd
11 Extreme
12 Infamous
13 Asst.
21 Hyderabad V.I.P.
22 Oder tributary
25 Blighian
26 River of Europe, to Germans
27 Like some pitchers
28 Pepo
29 Pale
30 Musical piece
31 Bola
32 Laosos
34 Ballet position
38 Lupescu's friend
39 Unadorned
42 Departure
45 Artistic style
47 Aphrodite's love
48 Endorsed
50 Serpentine
51 Branches
52 Israeli statesman
53 Ency. units
54 Neighbor of Turkey
55 Pronoun
56 Pre-fixes
57 Chicago fire figure
60 Letter

